Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 7 of 19 Sections

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-66)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	1/8/68	11/13/67 - 1/3/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	mld
	CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, 11/16/67.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS
Convic.	Auto.	Fug.	Fines	Savings	Recoveries	

Has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REC-28

100-434140-10-2011

12 JAN 11 1968

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Notations

RACIAL

CI 100-14158

Copies Con't:

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(1 - 157-
6 - Cincinnati
(1 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-1674) (Civil Disturbance, Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, 11/13/67)
(1 - 157-1707)
(1 - 157-)
(1 - 157-373)
(1 - 157-1293)

In view of the racial disturbance participation by SNCC at Central State University (CSU) Wilberforce, Ohio, one copy each of instant report has been disseminated locally to the 109th MI Group, OSI, NISO and Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In accordance with re Bureau letter instant report sets forth SNCC activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

It should be noted that for purposes of brevity and clarity, and to avoid repetition, only the most informative newspaper articles concerning SNCC and the disturbance are set forth in succinct form to indicate activities of this group on the campus.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	100-14158-532
	Instant report.

Furnished orally to SA [redacted] on 1/3/68.

CI 100-14158

Identity of Source	Location
	157-1674-20
	157-1674-18
[redacted]	
[redacted]	Used to characterize CLEVELAND SELLERS. (100-14208-17)
	100-14208-17
[redacted]	100-14208-14

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will contact [redacted] for any more positive indication of SNCC activities or involvement in violence type agitation at Central State University.

(Rev. 7-1-60)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

January 8, 1968

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
   (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1 (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59).

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 1/8/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #:

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DETAILS: CONFIDENTIAL

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Programs and Activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, 1967)

[illegible]

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] : November 8, 1967)

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on January 3, 1968)

During the past few weeks there have been many internal problems at Central State University relating to maintenance employees' strike and tension between Black Power group and the more conservative students and administration.

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, 1967)

"The Record", published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, during periods when school is in session, published on November 17, 1967, an article stating that the trustees of Central State University, which is about five miles south of Antioch College, ordered the school closed Wednesday, November 13, 1967, after a day and one-half of intense fighting between police authorities and students. The violence started as a result of police attempts to arrest [illegible], a senior and a leader of SNCC at Central State University, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of the president of neighboring Wilberforce University, a Negro school.

CONFIDENTIAL

The charge stemmed from an interchange between Wilberforce University President REMBERT STOKES and WARREN during a rally held in the wake of a controversy over increased benefits to non-student workers. STOKES claimed WARREN threatened to kill him; WARREN said that he said, "If the revolution were now I'd have to kill all Toms".

Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record", that the Central State University Administration expelled WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC Chapter.

WARREN attended classes on Monday, following expulsion and approximately thirty students thwarted campus police attempts to arrest him. Students placed themselves between WARREN and the authorities and later barricaded him in Wesley Hall. By the time campus police entered WARREN was gone.

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a newspaper of general circulation published at Cincinnati, Ohio, published in its final edition on December 3, 1967, that Dr. HARRY E. GROVES, Negro president of Central State University, blamed "persons from Atlanta", where SNCC's national headquarters is located, for stirring the riots on the campus.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on November 14, 1967)

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a daily newspaper published in Cincinnati, contained an article in the September 16, 1967, issue which stated that GEORGE WARE was a principal lieutenant of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on November 14, 1967)

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

CI 100-14176 CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that prior to the [illegible] of officers of [illegible] in May, 1967, [illegible] was program director of SNCC.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on November [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] is currently enrolled as a [illegible] at the University of Cincinnati at Cincinnati, Ohio, and is Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC.

(Source: [redacted] on November [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] is a field representative [illegible] former chairman of [illegible] SNCC.

(Source: [redacted] on November [illegible])

[redacted] during [illegible] 1967, 92 adult Negro [illegible] were [illegible] versity. One student was charged with [illegible] weapon and all the others were charged with [illegible] the peace.

The [illegible] Daily News, a [illegible] in general circulation in the [illegible], Ohio, [illegible] the November [illegible] were among the [illegible] at the [illegible] University, where law enforcement [illegible] troops were [illegible] to quell the [illegible] included [illegible], 21, of Atlanta, [illegible] identified [illegible] as field secretary for [illegible] of Tuskegee, Alabama, who said he [illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

The "Journal Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article in the November 28, 1967, edition, stating that MICHAEL WARREN, controversial Central State senior, expelled earlier this month, made a surprise return to the campus on November 27, 1967, when the school reopened and declared publically, "If the revolution were on at this moment, I would have to kill all (Uncle) Toms."

It was allegedly similar to the statement he made on November 1 to Dr. HERBERT STOKES, President of nearby Wilberforce University. The [redacted] WARREN's expulsion, and subsequent banning from campus.

Asked by reporters if he planned on re-applying for re-admission, he stated, "I can't answer any questions because I don't trust you." WARREN was seated in the front row next to Mrs. CHARLES GATE of Dayton, a Black Power advocate. Asked if she was instrumental in bringing WARREN on the campus she said she could not comment on the situation.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] on May 4, 1968)

"The Citizen Journal", a daily newspaper [redacted] circulation at Columbus, Ohio, published on November 11, 1967, edition, an article concerning the symposium on Black Power at Central State University. The article stated that Central State University [redacted] some 2,600 students and more than 80 per cent of them are Negroes.

The school came to national attention recently by way of night of rioting by angry students, many of them yelling, "Black Power", which forced the closing of the school for two weeks.

"When classes resumed one of the first acts of the university officials was to arrange a symposium of students, faculty, administrators, parents, and a few Negro leaders to examine and discuss the question, what does 'black power' mean?"

[redacted]

"If the symposium proved anything it was that 'Black Power' means a variety of different things to different people."

"More than 2,000 students gathered in the gymnasium, along with teachers, deans, parents, and school maintenance workers. Nearly all present were Negroes; eight men at the speakers' table ranged from University Present Dr. HARRY GROVES to HARLELL JONES, who was fired from a laborer's job at the city of Cleveland for Black Power militancy."

"Then came the definition of Black Power."

"There are non-violent positive aspects of Black Power," said GROVES. "It is a continuing, changing thing that can mean more economic and political power for Negroes."

"DeForest Brown, a militant Negro leader from Cleveland, didn't see it that way." "Black Power," he said, "is only the authority of black people who act in their own best interest. It is not just an non-violent movement because we believe we are men and we are going to act like men."

"Brown's remarks and those of some of the other militant speakers drew some applause, but the students responded more enthusiastically to Dr. JAMES T. HENRY, a geology professor and veteran city councilman in nearby Xenia. HENRY said it was necessary to speak of Black Power 'like it is'."

"I will fight for Black Power, but within the context of entering the mainstream of power," he said. "When I came here in the 1930's the race relation situation in Xenia was tough, but it is better now and it is because we fought to change it - but we fought within the mainstream of political establishment."

"Also at the table was GEORGE WARE, a quick young man who travels the country organizing Negroes on college campuses for the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was another who didn't think Black Power meant working within 'the mainstream'."

"This is a country", advised WARE, "that will allow kids to throw rocks in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, every year, and will bring in the National Guard when a few kids try to defend one classmate at their own institution."

"There was scattered applause for WARE, but it did not match the response given a young Negro who identified

himself as president of the Student Government."

"I don't think hate of any kind helps us", the student spokesman said. "Hate blinds." "Our goal is not to overthrow the Government, but to be involved in it."

"There was no evidence at the end that either side - the violence or the non-violence had much influence on the other."

"One stand-patter was MICHAEL WARREN, the student expelled for threatening the life of Negro president of neighboring Wilberforce University. Negro moderates to WARREN are, 'Uncle Toms'. WARREN announced through the loud speaker, 'I would if the revolution was on at this minute, have to kill all the Toms.'"

FD-122 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Cincinnati.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-64)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	1/17/68	11/22/67 - 1/16/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	mjw
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted], 1/8/68, at Cincinnati [redacted]
Report of SA [redacted] dated 12/18/67, at Atlanta. [redacted]

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of confidential informants and sources whose identities might otherwise possibly be determined

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: NONE						ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

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2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Cincinnati (4 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-373) (1 - 157-1182) (1-100-[illegible]) (1 - 157-[illegible])
(1 - 157-1293) (1 - 100-7522) (1 - 157-329) (1- 157-[illegible])

REC-44

100-439190-10-2087

16 JAN 2[illegible] 1968

ILX 106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

SEC.

with subsequent jeopardy to their future usefulness and to the security of the country.

SNCC activities at Central State University and Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, are more fully set out in referenced Cincinnati report of 1/8/68.

In view of SNCC activities in racial disturbances, copy of this report has been disseminated locally to the 109th MI Group, MISC, and OSI, as well as Secret Service, Cincinnati.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
	157-373-6
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-14158-562
	157-373-68
[redacted]	[redacted]
	100-14158-564

CI 100-14158

Identity of Source (continued)	Location
[redacted]	100-14158-502
[redacted]	157-1534-7
[redacted]	157-373-106 -113
[redacted]	100-14158-596
[redacted]	157-373-69, p. 2
[redacted]	100-14158-595
[redacted]	100-14158-579 -590
[redacted]	100-14158-532 -593
[redacted]	157-1674-18 -20
[redacted]	

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton

area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535
January 17, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.

2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.

4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. XX Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

   (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
   (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
   (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

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Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 1/17/68

Field Office File No.: 100-14158 Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: [redacted]

GROUP 1
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CI 100-14158

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CI 100-14158

DETAILS:

CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Organization

Precedent to the establishment of a Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about August, 1967, there was an organization known as Friends of SNCC, made up of white and Negro individuals, which existed for several years as a money-raiser for SNCC and which was last headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL, a long-time Cincinnati Negro militant. BALL was formerly chairman of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) from April, 1964, to April, 1966. When BALL resigned from CORE in April, 1966, he became chairman of Friends of SNCC, according to the April 6, 1966, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper, and the April 9, 1966, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper. He became chairman of the Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about July 28, 1967.

At the July 28, 1967, meeting of SNCC, attended by about 35 persons, it was determined that a local SNCC chapter had been established, headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL as chairman, and that Friends of SNCC, which BALL had headed as chairman, had been discontinued.

(Source: [redacted] August 2, 1967) MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

In August, 1967, THOMAS JAMES PORTER succeeded BALL as chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, BALL becoming Program Director, according to the August 29, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, which quoted BALL as stating that "the change was made to make the SNCC chapter more effective and viable in the Cincinnati area." The change in the chairman took place at the August 25, 1967, SNCC meeting, according to the September 2, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, which added that "the activities of the local SNCC chapter will be escalated considerably requiring re-structuring of the chapter."

LEONARD BALL actually did not, by giving up the

chairmanship, take a demotion in SNCC but was made a SNCC field representative in addition to being Program Director of local SNCC.

(Source: [redacted] September 21, 1967)

Principal Leaders

THOMAS JAMES PORTER, Chairman, Cincinnati chapter of SNCC;

LEONARD CARSON BALL, Program Director, and also a Field Representative of national SNCC;

WILMA TONEY, Acting Secretary. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Sources: [redacted] January 15, 1968, and August 2, 1967)

While PORTER is chairman and BALL program director, the decisions of BALL generally carry more weight than those of PORTER.

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

Membership

Present membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 15. About September 1, 1967, the membership was about 25. When Friends of SNCC existed, it had a membership of white and black individuals of about 200, some of whom knowingly or unknowingly believe they are SNCC members. Weekly public meetings were discontinued because non-members of SNCC would show up, with several "windy" persons taking up considerable time in long speeches and opinions which accomplished nothing and frequently prevented the purpose of the meeting from being accomplished.

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

Meetings

Meetings are held periodically at different locations. They were held previously once a week at various

places, with one public meeting a month at Carmel Presbyterian Church.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] January 15, 1968)

In early December, 1967, it was learned that the previous schedule of an open weekly meeting on Friday night about 8:00 p.m. at the Carmel Church had been changed to a closed meeting of leaders held each Friday at either the Black Arts Studio or PORTER's apartment on Glenwood Avenue, with the last Friday of the month for an open meeting at the church. Open means a general membership attendance, plus visitors and guests.

(Source: [redacted] December 4, 1967)

SNCC Newsletter - Containing Background and Purposes of SNCC

Cincinnati SNCC periodically puts out a mimeographed newsletter which contains anti-white and anti-police comments, as well as some comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC officials, and about Black Power and anti-Negro groups. For example, in one, it quotes H. RAP BROWN as saying, "There are thirteen concentration camps here in America. Do you black people think that they are for just STOKELY and me?"

(Sources: [redacted] October 5, 1967, and
October 26, 1967)

In one SNCC newsletter distributed, being unsigned and undated but received on October 5, 1967, there was contained the following on the organization and purposes of SNCC, an editorial appeal to "younger black thinkers," emphasis on unity, and the necessity of "black organizations... to think and act revolutionary...":

CI 100-14158

"CINCINNATI CHAPTER SNCC
NEWSLETTER

"THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

"SNCC became an organization in February, 1960, and was the most militant and un-compromising of the existing civil rights organizations. During the early sixties, SNCC operated mostly in the South organizing and encouraging black people by using bold tactics and techniques in breaking down and removing barriers of segregation. SNCC soon found out, after much frustration, that the scope of the movement had to be broadened to reach and include more black people. THE MOVE HAD TO BE INWARD. Beginning with voter registration drives, voter education clinics, workshops and freedom centers, SNCC gained many in-roads into the white controlled southern political and economic system. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Black Panther Party in Alabama was formed. A new sense of awareness and accomplishment was instilled in the hearts and minds of fearful black people. The cultural and social revolution gained its first foothold. And the difficult job of organizing still goes on in Miss., Alabama, Georgia and in the northern ghettoes.

"To make SNCC's policies and programs clearer, the following statement was issued from the Atlanta Office:

"SNCC is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We (SNCC) shall seek to build a strong nation-wide

Black Anti-Draft Program and movement to include the high school students along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of National Freedom Organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objectives will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

****

"EDITORIAL

"The recent revolts teach the younger black thinkers many valuable lessons. One of them being; that, there is now and has always been an unconscious and undeclared war on Afro-Americans by the average hunkie. And a conscious strategic and declared war on us by the Power Structure.

"Proof of this is in the hypocritical position the power structure has taken. First they say that the revolts were natural and necessary to bring this problem to the attention of people, then in the same breath, they say how terribly wrong it is for oppressed people to rebel, they say that we should respect the government, regardless of how much the government

obviously disrespects us. They even prey on our innocent and ignorant brothers making them say that we are wrong. When all along it is the hunkie who is wrong and who must admit this fact. Since he has shown us he is incapable of doing this it seems like there will be continued war.

"Every day more and more Afro-Americans are waking up to the obscenity of the hunkie in America, so this war will become a two sided thing where the crumbling of white, racist America will be our victory and their defeat.

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"A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF CINTI.
SELF-HATRED in REGARDS to DIS-UNITY

"United we stand Divided we fall." Then why in Hell can't we black people unite? One of the main reasons for this obvious dis-unity is self-hate.

"We as a group of people in this land hold down a unique position in this hypocritical society in which we live. We are unique in this respect, we were brought to this land in cruel bondage, taken from our ancestral lands and brought here to build a nation for the hunkie with our lives, our blood, our sweat and our strong backs, because whitey was to damn lazy and no good to do this himself.

"As a reward for slavery & servitude we were systematically stripped of our manhood, racial pride, and self respect. The man, hunkie, whitey, beast or whatever you want to call him, literally taught us how to hate ourselves and our fellow brothers.

"This process of emasculation enacted against us have left us as empty as a shell, with no foundation to stand on. As a result, here we are today ashamed of ourselves and our race, although many of us will not admit to this personally, but as a racial group this is self evident in many ways. It shows up the false class distinction we have tried to construct among ourselves, commonly called

the black middle class or black..... (words eradicated and continuation in same paragraph the following) A g r o u p of black people who have worked hard to obtain a certain economical status and then find themselves trying to dissassociate themselves from the black masses. So, what is this but dis-unity. Another way this shows up is in complexion consciousness. Many black brothers & sisters are ashamed of the dark, but beautiful, hue of their skin and the natural texture of their hair. By the same token, many lighter skinned brothers & sisters have the foolish notion that this makes them more acceptable to whitey than there darker brothers. So, what is this but dis-unity.

"One of the most saddening ways this self-hatred is shown is in the violence & larceny that brothers commit against fellow brothers. It's almost as if they are saying, 'Nigger! I am tired of you reminding me of what I am.' So, what does this accomplish but a general animosity towards one another.

"Black people of this city and across the land, we have to learn to be proud of what we are and to take the necessary steps to recapture the pride that this white power structure has stripped us of. This can be done through a process of re-educating ourselves as to who we really are and our true heritage. Believe me black brothers & sisters we do have truly beautiful and remarkable heritage. These steps are necessary in the building of a foundation for us to stand firmly on and this is in turn will enable us to shuck the yoke of self-condemnation the white man has placed around our necks. A tree without roots slowly dies, therefore black people, it is it is urgently necessary for us to re-discover our roots or die. With the regeneration of this long lost pride, beautiful black people, we will all be on the same road to true black unity.

"Can you imagine a proud black people standing as one, helping one another, loving one another,

working with one another for a glorious black tomorrow? Black brothers & sisters it is time for us to come together regardless of our station in life or the complexion of our skin and above all, let's learn to love one another. It can be done! By a concerned black man..... Leroy Coston

"OFFENSIVE - DEFENSE

(Here in H. Rap Brown's concentration camp settlement, supra, p. 5.)

"We must unite together and think as black people for black people, we must admit to ourselves that the power structure is our enemy. The way to overcome this enemy dog is to know him and fight him harder than we help him.

"Because of our unawareness, there are times when we unconscously help this beast, but when we began to constantly think of hurting this enemy we can work for our liberation within the framework of our daily lives. Nothing is worse than helping your enemy to defeat you and this is what the hunkie has been making us do.

"We must begin to move politically and militarily in retaliation in every aspect of our daily lives. We must try to hurt our enemy. We have to lower our defensive defense and take strategic offensive measures as our defense.

"Black organizations must began to think and act revolutionary because there is a black revolution in America and all black people are affected. The hunkie hates all black people and the hunkie is working actively against all black people. Not just SNCC! We must all work together in our fight towards overcoming our oppression. We must remember that individualism is a luxury we black people cannot afford. Once we really understand what this enemy has done and is continuing to do to us, we will understand that he is truly our enemy and anything we do to him is justified. We all understand that these racist, hunkies uses laws as their weapon for oppressing us, so we must militantly ignore them and adopt our own set of laws. Laws that are for helping black people overcome the oppressor rather than those

which aid in our oppression. We must realize that our enemy is killing us twenty-four hours a day and it is time for our offensive defense action TODAY!"

(Source: [redacted] October 5, 1967)

Financial Condition of Cincinnati SNCC

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] November 30, 1967)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On November 30, 1967, it was reported that SNCC has been holding meetings on Friday nights at the Carmel Presbyterian Church which are conducted by either LEONARD BALL or TOM PORTER, or both, with an average attendance of about 45 persons. SNCC, at this time, does not have a membership roster, as such, but persons who attend meetings and indicate an interest can sign their names and addresses and contribute the sum of $2.00 to the organization, money being one of the primary goals at this time.

(Source: [redacted] November 30, 1967)

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SNCC Members from Dayton and Xenia, Ohio, Including Central State University and Antioch College, at Cincinnati SNCC Meeting, October 24, 1967

On October 24, 1967, a meeting was held beginning at 5:00 p.m. in the first floor apartment house at Prospect and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, for the purpose of organizing a Tri-City SNCC to comprise Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio. A secondary purpose was to establish communications between various Black nationalist groups for getting out information on problems and decisions on courses of action. LEONARD BALL was leader of the Cincinnati SNCC group.

FLORENCE TATE and her husband, CHARLES TATE, both of Dayton, Ohio, were there. CHARLES TATE is chairman of the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee (NVDAC) of Dayton, a civil rights organization. FLORENCE TATE is the SNCC representative in Dayton, and is the individual who established the Afro-American Center there. TOM PORTER and several others in Cincinnati SNCC were there, as well as several students from Antioch College and two persons from Yellow Springs; also, MICHIE HUNTER of Xenia, Ohio; and CHARLES COBB and COURTLANDT COX, both of whom are field representatives of national SNCC. The total at the meeting was about 20 persons.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Source: [redacted] November 9, 1967)

Affiliation of SNCC Personnel with Various Organizations

LEONARD BALL was among persons attending a Tri-State Rally of the Nation of Islam (NOI) at the Masonic Temple Building, Beresford Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 6, 1967.

(Source: [redacted] August 11, 1967)

A characterization of the NOI is contained in the appendix of this report.

On July 17, 1967, it was reported that the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), headed by Reverend HAROLD HUNT, pastor of the Carmel Presbyterian Church, who

had been picked during the June, 1967, riots in Cincinnati to speak for it to the City Administration, was formed to get unity in the Negro community. Its membership includes TOM PORTER and LEONARD BALL, as well as representatives of other civil rights groups in Cincinnati. The source stated that it is not believed that there will ever be unity in the Negro community.

(Source: [redacted] July 17, 1967)

REVEREND HAROLD HUNT

The "Wall Street Journal," New York City, Midwest Edition, of July 13, 1967, carried an article captioned, "'Rebellion' in Ohio," which comments on the racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and, in part, states:

"...many Negro youngsters are looking to a new kind of leadership, one that is less willing to accept the rules of society and more willing to risk drastic action to provoke meaningful response by the white community.

"'I do not advocate violence but neither do I advocate nonviolence,' declares the Reverend HAROLD HUNT, Pastor of Carmel Presbyterian Church in this city's Negro-populated Avondale section; he is a leader in this new movement....

"Following the recent violence, Mr. Hunt has emerged as the spokesman for the younger Negro community here; he now heads a team that is negotiating with the city for 'equal justice' and 'equal employment.' The minister is well-prepared for his role. An alumnus of a Chicago training school run by protest-organizer SAUL ALINSKY, he served a brief stint in Detroit before coming here two years ago.

"'We're organizing because we know we've got to keep the pressure on to get action,' he (HUNT) declares. An evening meeting at the HUNT home, in the heart of Avondale, illuminates the strategy. Some of the Negroes present: TOM PORTER

of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), LEONARD BALL of Friends of SNCC, E. WINTHER MC CROOM of the Political Action Programming Assembly, and the Reverend RICHARD SELLERS of the West Cincinnati Presbyterian Church.

"The ostensible 'downtown' target of the HUNT campaign is City Hall, and the Negro negotiating team has presented City Manager W. C. WICHMAN and other officials with a list of sweeping demands. Many deal with incidents related to the rioting. but the most significant focus is on job opportunities..."

Political Action Programming Assembly, Incorporated (PAPA)

PAPA, "A group of young Negro men dedicated to creating within the Negro community the highest degree of political and economic awareness, education, and participation, has announced that it plans to seek affiliation with the Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee, which was established as a result of the rebellion which took place in Cincinnati during the week of June 12 through June 16. PAPA has pledged the full support of its membership to this organization, and had agreed to throw the full weight of its organization behind the negotiating efforts being carried out by the negotiating team headed by the Reverend HAROLD L. HUNT, Carmel Presbyterian Church," according to the July 1, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is listed in "Who's Who In America" as born Chicago, Illinois, January 30, 1909; Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1930; LL.D, St. Procopius College, 1958. "Sociologist with Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, 1931-36, 1936-39; member State Prison Classification Board, Division of Criminology, Illinois State Penitentiary System, Joliet, 1933-36; co-founder Back of the Yard

Neighborhood Council (Chicago); executive director of Industrial Areas Foundation, 1939-(to present). Member of Authors League...Author: Reveille for Radicals, 1946; John L. Lewis, a Biography, 1949. Contributor of numerous publications. Lecturer on criminology, community organization and organized labor in various universities. Home: 5477 South Hyde Park Boulevard. Office: 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago."

The Illinois Edition of "The Worker," dated April 9, 1950, contained an article captioned, "Chicagoans To Pay Tribute To Pearl Hart." This article was as follows:

"More than 350 Chicagoans from every community and suburb will attend the Pearl Hart 60th Birthday Testimonial Dinner for this Chicago attorney. The event, which is sponsored by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, takes place Saturday evening on April 8, 1950, at 7:00 p.m. in the Walnut Room of the Bismarck Hotel, Chicago. Among the many sponsors of the dinner is SAUL ALINSKY."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is attached hereto.

PEARL HART

During May, 1961, a former confidential source advised that on June 23 and 26, 1941, LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former National Communist Party functionary, advised that PEARL HART, a Chicago attorney, was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party. He also reported that he was repeatedly advised through reports by an Illinois Communist Party leader at National Committee meetings and through instructions to him from National Communist Party leaders that PEARL HART continued to be a member of the Communist Party up to at least October,

1945.

In May, 1961, PEARL HART continued to be the President of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Chicago Chapter of the Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

ALINSKY

On April 7, 1962, the "Chicago Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Chicago, Illinois, area, carried an article concerning The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and ALINSKY. This article was captioned "Object: Aid the Negro," and further, "New TWO Fights Face Problems, Methods Rouse Controversy." It, in part, stated:

"Chicago, Illinois, could become half Negro in 12 years according to University of Chicago sociologists. Chicago could be ringed by mammoth white suburbs. A controversial group in the South Side of Chicago contends that Chicago can be 'the first big, solid Negro community organization in the U.S.' Through a powerful citizens organization, its leaders assert, the Negro can solve his own problems. SAUL D. ALINSKY, a self-described 'agitator,' who admits to 'rubbing raw the sores of discontent,' says his goal is the peaceful integration of the entire area -- city and suburbs.

"But, its opponents have claimed it is a 'hate group' attempting to freeze the Negroes in segregated communities while practicing 'the ruthlessness of the class war.' Negro voters march on City Hall. Negro mothers 'sit-in' in slum buildings. A group called The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) has organized the slums. Has the controversial young Woodlawn Organization, formerly The Temporary Woodlawn Organization, helped the cause of racial understanding in Chicago? 'Yes,' said TWO's founder, SAUL D. ALINSKY.

'No,' said five protestant pastors. ALINSKY organized the famous Back of the Yard Neighborhood Council in the 1930's in Chicago..."

On January 11, 1965, a confidential source, an agency which collects security-type information in the Chicago, Illinois, area, furnished a report concerning the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). The IAF, 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was established and incorporated in 1940. The purpose of this organization is to study the causes of the problems in American industrial areas, and to aid in the development of programs for the solution of these problems.

A secondary purpose of the IAF is to act as a consultant in guiding staff development and the training of personnel in community organizations. The IAF is supported by voluntary contributions, and it promotes the development of indigenous community organizations.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is Executive Secretary of the IAF. The IAF was an instrument used in the organization of more than 30 per cent of Chicago, Illinois, for social action. One such organization formed by the IAF was The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a group formed on the South Side of Chicago in 1961 and used primarily for promoting racial integration in their local areas...Since 1941, ALINSKY has started approximately 44 power based organizations through the country, and has supplied organizing tools and organizers for many communities that have asked for them. ALINSKY has been known to be an opportunist who would use any friendship or contact to advance his own aims. When civil rights questions concerning housing, job opportunities and neighborhoods became the prime objection of various racial and religious groups in the Chicago area, ALINSKY entered this field of endeavor, and assisted in the formation of various neighborhood organizations.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] October 2, 1967)

Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

On August 13, 1966, the "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper in Cincinnati, published an OAAU statement setting out that it was organized "as a working base for an action program designed to eliminate the political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation suffered daily by 22 million Afro-Americans...no action program will work unless it is controlled completely by Afro-Americans...We do not want any money from Whitey...This program...is one to show our people how to gain control over the politics, economy, and social and civic affairs of our community... must re-educate our people so that they will be willing to shoulder the responsibility of running our own community...We are asking Negroes to... vote as a block for Negro candidates only...We believe every policeman assigned to a Negro community should be Negro. In the wave of recent riots, it has been only Negroes killed by trigger happy police that are mostly white...Furthermore the White Policeman is a symbol of White domination and oppression, and the Negro is fed up with this practice..."

A characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) is contained in the appendix.

LEONARD BALL is a member of the OAAU, which set up the Black Arts Studio, 726 East McMillan Street, Cincinnati,

operated by TOM PORTER and his partner, HENRY JONES.

(Source: [redacted] June 16, 1967)

Miscellaneous Activity of Cincinnati SNCC

The January 11, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, had item that SNCC "'opposes and repudiates' the appointment of Mrs. VIRGINIA COFFEY as new executive director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. SNCC says Mrs. COFFEY (who is Negro) 'knows nothing about the black community' and contends the appointment is 'the white power structure once again picking leaders for the black community.' The appointment, SNCC says, was 'made for the convenience and service of white people only. The HRC never has been that effective and will be even less so now. The big question is: How long will the black community tolerate this effrontery and insult?'"

The Uhuru Festival (Uhuru is Swahili word for "Unity") sponsored by the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), Cincinnati, Ohio, 12/27-30/67, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, the minister of which is Reverend HAROLD HUNT, chairman of UBCO, was participated in by Cincinnati SNCC leaders. Local SNCC chairman THOMAS J. PORTER handled a workshop on "Education in Revolution," beginning at 1:00 p.m., December 30, 1967. "He spoke about everyone being segregated by the white people, such as the Jews, Negroes and the Indians. He said HITLER killed six million Jews and this is what 'whitey' is planning to do to the Negroes; that 'when you are arrested, you are under arrest, but that if you knock the cop down on his back then you are no longer under arrest'; that the black people should set up their own form of government in Avondale (predominantly Negro area of Cincinnati) and call it 'Blacksville' with roadblocks to keep 'whitey' out; and that when a black man is arrested, he is tried by a white man in a black robe who is a racist. He claimed that the white man pushes his unqualified friends into positions that they don't deserve, and that when he (PORTER) gets his degree (from University of Cincinnati, where he has had a Danforth Scholarship) he is going to help his black friends into places of responsibility."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

WILMA TONEY, of Cincinnati SNCC, handled a workshop on "Individuals' Role in the Revolution," at the Carmel Church, 1:00 p.m., December 29, 1967. She started with the history of NAT TURNER, then spoke on the difference in unity of black families as opposed to unity among white families, and how to educate black children by buying black dolls instead of white ones, as well as using the word "black" instead of "Negro."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, spoke at a workshop on December 28, 1967, beginning about 1:00 p.m., on the subject of "Black Power as a Political Concept; The Press and the Black Community." BALL "talked about a magazine article; then complained about the lack of colored news commentators on TV and in commercials. He also stated that 'concentration camps all over the U. S. were being renovated to put the Negroes in as the whites want to make them an extinct race.' BALL also attended the Festival on December 30, 1967, but didn't speak."

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

The Uhuru Festival was a failure because of "the small attendance at the workshops held during the afternoon hours of December 27-30, 1967, when many persons had to work, and because the scheduled main speaker, Reverend ALBERT CLEAGE, of Detroit, a Black Power advocate, did not show. Only about 50 persons attended the main meeting the evening of December 30, 1967, when a seminar was held by local people in place of the speech by Reverend CLEAGE."

(Source: [redacted] January 2, 1968)

During August, 1967, JAMES HARRIS, of Lincoln Heights, Ohio (Cincinnati incorporated suburb of practically 100% Negro population) cooperated with Cincinnati SNCC leaders in obtaining approval of the local Board of Education for a speaking appearance by H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC Chairman, at a Black Power meeting to be held in the Lincoln Heights School auditorium on August 19, 1967. Approval for BROWN's appearance was viewed in the community as a victory of the Black Power advocates over the moderate citizens. The community became divided over the Black Power concept

and many bitter arguments followed, extending to division among members of the same family. Many persons in Lincoln Heights feared racial rioting would follow BROWN's appearance. BROWN did not appear on August 19, 1967, as he was incarcerated in New York City after an arrest. The rally, however, was held in the school auditorium without BROWN, and SNCC leaders addressed the audience, praising SNCC and advocating Black Power. No white persons were allowed in the Lincoln Heights school that evening.

(Source: [redacted] January 4, 1968)

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] November 29, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, "Education Director of Cincinnati SNCC", announced that there would be a Youth Conference and Workshop in the afternoon, together with a public rally later, on Saturday, October 21, 1967, from 12:00 noon to 6:30 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road and Lee Place, according to the October 21, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra. Scheduled speakers were CLEVELAND SELLARS, Director of the South Carolina Chapter of SNCC; COURTLANDT COX of the SNCC national staff; and ERNEST STEVENS, Campus Coordinator of SNCC.

Reverend HAROLD HUNT led the workshop, along with LEONARD BALL. It was attended by about 13 persons, who were given talks on education and how to prepare for leadership. At the public rally in the evening, there were about 47 persons, speakers including ERNEST STEVENS and COURTLANDT COX of national SNCC. SELLARS did not appear at either session.

(Source: [redacted] October 25, 1967)

In the August 3, 1967, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, was an article concerning a law suit filed by LEONARD BALL and other members of SNCC, as well as the local chapter of SNCC, and the national SNCC, against the Cincinnati Safety Director, Chief of Police, and other city officials. The suit filed in U. S. District Court asked that the court prevent local courts from prosecuting SNCC members on charges ranging from arson to carrying a concealed weapon. They also wanted local law enforcement officials prohibited from presenting evidence against them before the county grand jury on charges against them. The suit also wanted local officials to be prevented from 'impeding or intimidating' them or their supporters or friends, and from interfering with their rights guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution and Federal laws. SNCC was unsuccessful in this injunction action, which was denied by U. S. District Court Judge DAVID S. PORTER on August 4, 1967, according to the August 4, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star."

There was racial disturbance in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning shortly before 10:00 p.m. on Monday, June 12, 1967, which lasted until 6:00 a.m., Sunday, June 18, 1967. The disturbance began after a protest meeting the evening of June 12, 1967, in front of the Samuel Ach Junior High School over the arrest of PETER FRAKES early Sunday, June 11, 1967, for traffic interference while picketing in front of the Cincinnati City Hall in protest of the conviction in April, 1967, of POSTEAL LASKEY, a Negro, for the murder of BARBARA BOWMAN, a white women, and to emphasize the right of freedom of assembly. Among those who spoke to the protest crowd was LEONARD BALL, chairman of local Friends of SNCC, who was subsequently seen in an area of disturbance talking to small groups, but then left the area.

(Source: [redacted] June 19, 1967)

[redacted]

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] June 16, 1967)

On April 29, 1967, the then SNCC national chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, spoke at a mass rally at the Carmel Presbyterian Church beginning about 8:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL spoke "about the background of the Negro in Africa, how everything was stripped from the Negro by the whites, and that the Capitalist system exists to keep Negroes subservient, with no hope for Negro liberation or freedom without destruction of the system. After the speech, LEONARD BALL took up collections for the Friends of SNCC. The rally was attended by FLORENCE TATE, a SNCC representative from Dayton, Ohio."

(Source: [redacted], May 4, 1967)

DAYTON, OHIO, SNCC

Black Liberation Party (BLP)

[redacted]

A characterization of MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national officer of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and founder of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), is contained in the appendix of this report, which includes characterizations of the NOI and MMI.

[redacted]

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] November 1, 1967)

[redacted]

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] June 21, 1967)

W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH

[redacted] advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH was a member of the CP at Dayton, Ohio, from 1945 to 1948. [redacted] said MC INTOSH was not very active but did attend a number of meetings of the Party. [redacted] stated that to his knowledge, MC INTOSH was not a member of the CP during the year 1949.

Programs and Activities of SNCC Wherein Its Personnel Were Involved in Planning of or Engaging in Violence

H. RAP BROWN, SNCC national chairman, spoke at

the West Side Job Rally, 2301 West Third Street, on June 14, 1967, beginning at 8:00 p.m. The June 15, 1967, "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton area, carried an article entitled "Brown Raps 'Honkies,' but Not Like Stokely." The article quoted BROWN in regard to the press as stating, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people... after each rebellion they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you." BROWN was also quoted as stating in regard to Black Power that, "We ain't seeking no love. We're seeking power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

[redacted] advised FBI Special Agents in June, 1967, that after the West Side Job Rally about 9:45 p.m. on June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles; some shop windows were broken and there was some scattered looting. The disturbances continued into the morning hours of June 15, 1967, with a continuation to a lesser extent the evening of June 15, 1967, and early morning hours of June 16, 1967. [redacted] stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

[redacted] advised an FBI Special Agent that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting, stating that he thought it triggered the disturbance.

XENIA, OHIO, SNCC, INCLUDING WILBERFORCE, OHIO, AND YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Disturbance at Central State University (CSU), Wilberforce, Ohio, SNCC, with Support from Antioch College and National and Cincinnati SNCC Officers

[redacted]

MEMBER OF SUBJECT [illegible]

[redacted]

Violence broke out on the CSU campus on November 13, 1967, according to the November 17, 1967, edition of "The Record," published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, when school was in session, when police attempted to arrest MICHAEL WARREN, a CSU senior and SNCC leader, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of the president of Wilberforce University, which is also a predominantly Negro college at Wilberforce, Ohio. CSU is about five miles south of Antioch College. There was a day and a half of disturbance and fighting between police authorities and students with numerous arrests of students and some non-students. Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record," that the CSU administration expelled student MICHAEL WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC chapter.

[redacted]

(Source: [redacted] various dates beginning in November, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, is quoted in the November 18, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, as stating during the previous week that "a team of SNCC leaders were en route to the embattled university (CSU) to organize and stage demonstrations, sit-ins, and 'anything necessary' to have our brother SNCC member reinstated."

The November 17, 1967, issue of "The Record," supra, pointed out that the CSU trustees ordered the university closed November 15, 1967, with students to be advised of the time of the reopening of the school.

On November 14, 1967, [redacted], advised that about 5:00 p.m. that date, approximately 40 Antioch College students from Yellow Springs, Ohio, staged a peaceful demonstration in

Xenia to show their support for CSU students.

On December 4, 1967, [redacted] advised that conditions at CSU have been quiet since the school reopened after the Thanksgiving holidays.

A P P E N D I X

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

A P P E N D I X

MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (MCPFB) since the latter part of March, 1962, has maintained an office in Room 422-424, Manhattan Building, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On July 16, 1947, Joseph Albert Poskonka, a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1944 to about 1948, advised that the MCPFB was founded at a conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1947, and the MCPFB was to operate as the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (ACPFB).

On May 5, 1955, a source advised that in a "Statement of Principles," issued in April, 1955, by the MCPFB, it was noted that "The purpose of the Midwest Committee shall be to seek to perpetuate for the foreign born the fundamental concepts of equality, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, political belief or place of birth, and to preserve the basic ideals of liberty and hospitality, which serve as the guarantees of democracy for all Americans."

A second source as of May 15, 1964, advised that the MCPFB continued to function as the midwest organization of the ACPFB, and still adhered to its "Statement of Principles" last published in 1955.

The ACPFB has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A P P E N D I X

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised on May 14, 1964, that it was his understanding that the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was formed around 1936 in New York City, and that the Chicago Chapter of the NLG (CCNLG), which is affiliated with the national group in New York, was formed shortly thereafter, possibly in 1937, by a group of liberal progressive lawyers in protest against activities of the American Bar Association which they claimed was a non-liberal, non-progressive organization. The CCNLG has no established headquarters, but occasionally uses the return address of its officials on literature.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on Page 121 concerning the NLG:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * *National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these offer a bulwark of protection.

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

A P P E N D I X

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X. Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the non-violent civil rights movement, and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confi[redacted] source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and, henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

Characterization of MMI is contained in the appendix.

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist, James Booker, in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by Malcolm X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were

established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which was also headed by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 17, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	6/18/68	1/17 - 6/11/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	jms
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RACIAL MATTERS	

[redacted]

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] 1/17/68, at Cincinnati.

- P -

[redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unneccesary minor repetiti information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

[redacted]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NONE

Case has been: Pending over one year XX Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes XX No

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EX 106

EX 10

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	IDIU, ISD, CRD, CRIM, SS, [illegible]
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	7-3-68
How Fwd.	[illegible]
By	TTD - [illegible]

Notations

[redacted]

No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies instant report have been designated for Louisville.

[redacted]

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the U.S.

CI 100-14158

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
	Instant report
	[redacted]
	DE 157-2413

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

D-214 (Rev. 2-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
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Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: June 18, 1968

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File #: 100-14158

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Confidential sources identify leadership of Cincinnati SNCC and furnish data re SNCC [redacted] headquarters, membership, and meetings. [redacted] Recent past to present activities described, including presence and speeches by national leaders, Dayton and Cincinnati, conferences at colleges, travel by local leaders, interest in firearms, meetings with teenage students and subsequent high school demonstrations, racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and recent involvement with Republic of New Africa programs.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

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CI 100-14158

CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP, AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] confirmed the leadership of the Cincinnati SNCC as follows, all of whom are residents of Cincinnati, Ohio, except as indicated:

Chairman:	THOMAS JAMES PORTER
Program Director:	LEROY COSTON
Secretary:	LANA MITCHELL
Treasurer:	PATRICIA PEARL
Fund-raising:	WILMA TONEY
Security:	GEORGE HUGHES
Field Representative:	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, located Alabama

On May 28, 1968, the source advised that WILMA TONEY, although for the time being still carried on the membership rolls of Cincinnati SNCC, had resigned to devote full-time to other Negro organizational activities, and the position previously filled by her was vacant.

Concerning PAYNE, above, the source stated on January 30, 1968, that PAYNE is the only Cincinnati member of SNCC presently operating as a field representative, and is attached to the Atlanta headquarters of SNCC, although he has been working continuously in the area of Selma, Alabama. The source stated PAYNE's title is called Executive Secretary of the Alabama Project; that he is still considered a Cincinnati member of SNCC; and if PAYNE should encounter difficulties of any kind, it is the responsibility of Cincinnati SNCC to provide whatever assistance is necessary.

[redacted]

CI 100-14158

HEADQUARTERS

[redacted]

On May 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that henceforth the new Cincinnati headquarters would be located in the Jewish Temple at Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated PORTER obtained the headquarters from the Avondale Community Council, who excercises control over the Rockdale Temple, and PORTER paid the sum of $25.00 for one year's use of an office and/or classroom located on the second floor of the above Temple.

MEMBERSHIP - MEETINGS

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] confirmed the total present membership of Cincinnati SNCC as 19, which number includes the leadership above, WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Field Representative, and four new SNCC members whose membership was effective approximately March 15, 1968. The source added, however, that PORTER indicated serious intentions of expanding the membership in the immediate future to include several teenage Negroes, who had exhibited considerable enthusiasm on the high school level.

The source confirmed that weekly meetings are generally conducted on Wednesday evenings unless circumstances require a change or cancellation as determined by the leaders.

[redacted]

CI 100-14158

[redacted]

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On December 18, 1967 [redacted] advised that at 8:30 p.m. on November 3, 1967, a meeting of the Tri-City SNCC was held at the Afro American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio.

This source had previously advised October 28, 1967, that Tri-City SNCC encompassed Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, all Ohio, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University (CSU) at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

[redacted] advised that CHARLES TATE, who is also the Chairman of the Dayton Alliance For Racial Equality (DARE), a civil rights organization in Dayton, Ohio, was the main speaker and discussed forming a newspaper which would be a communications link between the various cities of Tri-City SNCC.

It was decided that the Afro American Center in Dayton would be the headquarters for Tri-City SNCC, and that each city would have three members who could vote on decisions; however, the total number in attendance from each city would be unlimited.

[redacted] advised January 4, 1968, that on November 10, 1967, another meeting of the Tri-City SNCC occurred at the above address at which the establishment of a newspaper was again discussed, and a decision was also made that meetings of Tri-City SNCC would rotate between the cities involved.

The newspaper, "Yellow Springs News," Yellow Springs, Ohio, Page 1, carried an article which stated that a branch office of SNCC had recently opened at 221 Xenia Avenue.

The article stated SNCC workers were organizing the office and getting a supply of literature, posters, buttons, and so forth, and planned to serve the Springfield - Dayton area. The SNCC workers indicated that the public was welcome to come in for a visit, to chat, or just look around.

[redacted]

On February 9, 1968, SAs of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and WILLIAM HALL, above, depart from the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 12:50 p.m., via American Airlines Flight 476, en route to Washington, D.C.

[redacted] advised that date that CARMICHAEL had been absent from his hotel room, above, for approximately two hours

during February 8, 1968, during which time he attended a speech given by JAMES FARMER, former Director of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), to an audience of about 400 persons at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated CARMICHAEL was accompanied by Cincinnati SNCC leader, PORTER, and upon the conclusion of FARMER's speech, CARMICHAEL returned to the Sheraton Gibson Hotel to address the Negro Methodist Ministers at a closed meeting at approximately midnight in the Roof Garden of the hotel.

The source stated that following the speech above, CARMICHAEL, in his hotel rooms with all members of Cincinnati SNCC, held a party and continued discussions similar to that previously carried on in Dayton, Ohio, at the TATE residence above.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 3D, issue of February 11, 1968, carried an article which stated, in essence, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers to go into the streets and help the poor. He told the Ministers that the church should not be geared toward the middle class, but that its job was helping the poor. The article stated that CARMICHAEL, who has a Methodist background, said the church was the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about cohesiveness among the Negro people.

[redacted] on February 13, 1968, advised that JAMES FARMER, former National Chairman of CORE, spoke at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m. on February 8, 1968, at which time FARMER, in essence, stated Negroes have been programed by a racist society; that it was necessary for Negroes to unify in order to de-program stereotyping, and that Negroes will never achieve full citizenship in this country according to the history of slavery.

[redacted] stated that in attendance at the above speech was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and following FARMER's speech, all the Cincinnati SNCC members gathered around CARMICHAEL as he departed from the Wesley Chapel.

[redacted]

On March 5, 1968, [redacted] stated that on February 15, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., a general meeting was held at the Afro-American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, at which time MARVIN WILSON was the guest speaker.

WILSON described himself as a national SNCC Field Representative, who would for a period of time work with all the black organizations in Dayton to unify them. WILSON stated he would involve all the black organizations whether they were willing or unwilling, and would work in the streets with those Negroes who have not been involved in any group activity.

WILSON stated the black people have been non-violent too long, and it was time they stood up and did something necessary for their liberation.

[redacted] advised February 19, 1968, that on February 16, 1968, LEROY JONES, Negro poet, spoke before about 1,500 persons, of which about fifty were white, in the University of Cincinnati (UC) Wilson Auditorium, beginning at 8:00 p.m., in connection with Negro History Week. JONES was invited by the United Black Association (UBA), which is a recently formed student Negro organization at UC, the purposes of which are "to enable the black student to acquaint himself better with community facilities and to be aware of and assist in any community problems involving the Negro; and to assist the black student in any way possible," according to the UBA spokesman in connection with the introduction of LEROY JONES. The person who introduced JONES with "He's alive. He's here. He's our cat LEROY!" was THOMAS J. PORTER, Chairman of the Cincinnati Chapter of SNCC.

LEROY JONES

"After four days in jail, LEROY JONES was released Tuesday, January 9, 1968, from Trenton State Prison on $25,000.00 bail, pending appeal of his conviction for illegal possession of two pistols during the Newark rioting last summer," according to a United Press International release datelined Trenton, New Jersey, in the January 9, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area. It points out that JONES and two other men were sentenced..., JONES' sentence being 2½ to 3 years.

- "Life" Magazine of June 10, 1966, in an article captioned "Plotting a War on 'Whitey,'" quotes

"LEROY JONES, the brilliant and bitter playwright who is, if not a leader of black extremism, surely one of its most eloquent spokesmen," as stating, "'What the black man needs is an absolute world of his own values. This is not realistic with the white man alive. I do not think it possible that we can wish him away.'" It also quotes him as saying, "I don't think it is necessary to make anything clear to the white man except perhaps that most of the people in the world would be better off if the white man didn't exist."

[redacted]

[redacted]

On March 5, 1968 [redacted] had also advised that he had learned that LEONARD BALL, former Program Director, resigned from Cincinnati SNCC and moved to Washington, D.C. on March 2, 1968.

[redacted]

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 7D, issue of March 17, 1968, carried an article titled, "Struggle For Survival

Cited by SNCC Leader," which stated, in essence, that CLEVELAND SELLERS, described as a National Field Director of SNCC, in a speech at the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, 3025 Walter Street, Cincinnati, stated that the black man's struggle in America is a struggle for survival. The article further related that SELLERS stated that if the Negroes do not come together and develop a black conscious philosophy, the white man was going to kill the Negroes off, and SELLERS also accused the Federal Government of Negro genocide by reason of the deaths of several Negro militant leaders in the recent past.

[redacted]

[redacted] advised March 25, 1968, that FLORENCE TATE, of Dayton, Ohio, above, used to work on a Mississippi project for SNCC; that she is much more knowledgeable about SNCC and its activities than her husband, CHARLES TATE, and source opined that she has closer association with National SNCC than anyone else in the area, possibly even a minor position of some type, because anyone from National SNCC or speakers, etc. coming to Ohio, consistently go to Dayton first to see FLORENCE TATE.

[redacted] advised April 1, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC Officers, LEROY COSTON, Program Director, and LANA MITCHELL, Secretary, attended a conference in Detroit, Michigan, on March 30 and 31, 1968, where a "Black Man's Constitution" was drafted for the creation of a separate nation of Negroes within the United States, to be subsequently presented to the U.S. Government.

[redacted] advised March 25, 1968, he had learned that all members of Cincinnati SNCC were scheduled to travel to Washington, D.C. for the period, April 12 - 14, 1968, to participate in a SNCC anti-draft demonstration, and that Cincinnati SNCC planned to charter a bus for 38 passengers.

[redacted] . On April 1, 1968, [redacted] advised that LEONARD BALL, above, returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, from Washington, D.C. for a visit, and instructed Cincinnati SNCC that the above demonstration in Washington, D.C. was not finalized as to details; consequently

Cincinnati SNCC should hold their plans to travel to Washington, D.C. in abeyance, and await further instructions.

On April 1, 1968, the same source advised that on March 29, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman TOMMY PORTER travelled to Springfield, Illinois, where he spoke to approximately 200 persons at the State House Inn, 101 East Adams Street, which was sponsored by the Institute for Administrative Leadership and School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunities. The source stated PORTER in his speech urged separation not integration of the school system because the present school system taught nothing but lies.

The Cincinnati edition of the newspaper, "Call and Post," Page 5, issue of March 30, 1968, carried an article datelined Dayton, Ohio, to the effect national SNCC Field Director CLEVELAND SELLERS spoke before an audience of 200 at the Mt. Olive Church in that city on the same subject matter that SELLERS had previously spoken on in Cincinnati on March 16, 1968; namely, that "Black people are fighting a war for survival in America."

[redacted] advised April 2, 1968, he had learned that on April 1, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director LEROY COSTON had fifteen or twenty Negro teenage male high school students come to SNCC headquarters at 2348 Highland Avenue for a P.M. meeting.

The source stated he was unable to furnish any specific information concerning the meeting, other than he understood COSTON had learned the teenagers had planned to boycott or demonstrate at some of the city high schools, but they had no definite objectives or organization to their plans.

The source stated he also learned that COSTON planned to have another meeting with the students on April 3, 1968.

On April 4, 1968, the source advised that COSTON cancelled the weekly SNCC membership meeting on April 3, 1968, and instead held another meeting with the Negro male teenagers, which was attended by about thirty students. The source stated he was unable to furnish any specifics, but did not believe violence, as such, was involved.

The Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, "Journal Herald," Page 69, issue of April 4, 1968, carried an article titled, "Rebels Label Revolution Black, Internal,Chaotic," which stated, in essence, that at a panel discussion at the University of Dayton's Miriam Hall

on April 3, 1968, CHARLES TATE, above, a representative of SNCC, stated revolution is the "black revolution, and it is a reality," and that "any means necessary for freedom are legitimate."

[redacted]

It should be noted that the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, experienced a racial disturbance, which commenced at 6:00 p.m., April 8, 1968, and lasted until 12:00 noon, April 12, 1968, at which time the Mayor's Riot Proclamation was rescinded according to the Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department.

On April 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that on April 9, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman PORTER stated that everything was fairly quiet, and that SNCC had nothing planned either in connection with the riot or with regard to SNCC meetings and activities.

PORTER indicated with regard to the riots, that a lot of people could be killed, hurt, or arrested, but that there had to be many sacrifices for the greater good, and that more would have to be made.

On April 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the regular Cincinnati SNCC weekly meetings were suspended because of the racial disturbance as were the meetings which LEROY COSTON had been conducting with the Negro high school teenage males.

[redacted] stated that COSTON had indicated the meetings were only with regard to a future walkout by the high school kids from school, and that the kids were supposed to stay out of school until the demands they were to present to the teachers and the school board had been met, but the source at that time did not know the nature of the demands that were to be presented.

The source also advised that he had learned of no plans on the part of SNCC or TOMMY PORTER with regard to the rict or

in the immediate future; that the weapons in the possession of the various SNCC members individually were supposedly only for defensive reasons, and that he knew of no specific use that PORTER had in mind for the dynamite in his possession at that time, above.

High School Demonstrations

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 1, 1968, carried an article titled, "Sit-Ins Prompted By Adults - MILLER," which stated in part as follows:

> "Supt. PAUL A. MILLER declared Tuesday that demonstrations by 1400 students at six Cincinnati high schools were 'a planned action' that was 'aided and abetted by adults.'
>
> "He charged the peaceful sit-ins across the city have 'exploded the myth' that unrest has been entirely spontaneous.
>
> "MILLER pointed to the presence of several militant leaders and peace protestors seen at the schools where youths protested the reassignment of seven students from Withrow and Woodward.
>
> "He warned that if the adults could be linked directly with the disruptions of school, 'they will be charged with aiding and abetting the students by contributing to the delinquency of a minor.'
>
> "MILLER met with City Hall officials, police and principals to plan counter action to keep schools operating as usual 'for the 90% who want to learn.' There are about 17,000 students in the eight high school centers.
>
> "Taft and Western Hills had no sit-ins, MILLER said."

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 8, issue of May 15, 1968, carried an article titled, "Last of 1,300 Suspended Due Back In School," which stated in part as follows:

> "The last 106 students among 1,300 suspended from school during Cincinnati high school sit-ins two weeks ago are due back in classes today.
>
> "Most of the suspended youths had been reinstated by last week through parent conferences with principals."

In connection with the above demonstrations, it should be additionally noted the "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 3, 1968, carried an article, which stated, in essence, that students in the Cincinnati public high schools would have greater voice in the operation of their schools, and that black history, culture, and literature would be incorporated in the curriculum. The article went on to discuss the demonstrations and stated that THOMAS PORTER, local Chairman of SNCC, who spoke to student demonstrators at schools this week, was arrested in Avondale Thursday for disorderly conduct after allegedly using abusive language against a policeman. He had marched with chanting students around City Hall earlier.

With regard to the high school demonstrations above, on April 30, 1968, [redacted] stated that six out of eight Cincinnati high schools were involved in the student protests, demonstrations, and walk-outs that SNCC had encouraged, and because of SNCC's involvement with the students, the regular weekly meetings of SNCC had been temporarily discontinued. The source stated that in furtherance of SNCC's counselling of the students, LEROY COSTON was meeting again either that night with the students or on May 1, 1968.

On May 2, 1968, [redacted] stated the previous Cincinnati SNCC meetings with the high school students were for the ultimate purpose of disrupting the schools, and the four students who were transferred from Withrow to Guilford were only the vehicle or excuse used to bring about the disruption, and the demands were really only of secondary significance.

On May 10, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that MILTON HENRY, First Vice-President of the Republic of New Africa, was to speak in Cincinnati on either May 19 or May 26, 1968, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church at 7:30 p.m. The source stated that MILTON's appearance was a result of a SNCC invitation. The source stated the speech was being sponsored by SNCC for the purpose of raising money for SNCC, and that speakers such as HENRY are merely reimbursed for their travel expenses with whatever additional raised, going to the organization.

The source advised that the only SNCC member presently believed to be also a member of the New Republic of Africa is LEROY COSTON.

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that several members of Cincinnati SNCC, one of whom was Program Director LEROY COSTON, had indicated intentions of attending a convention to be held by the Republic of New Africa in Chicago, Illinois, during May 30 and 31, 1968.

It should be noted [redacted] advised on May 1, 1968, that the Black Government Conference met March 30 - 31, 1968, at Detroit, Michigan, to establish a provisional Government. At this conference the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was formed for the purpose of organizing an independent Negro nation which was to be made up of several southern states of the United States. According to source ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, currently in China, was elected President of the RNA; MILTON ROBINSON HENRY was elected First Vice-President; and RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY, also known as Brother IMARI, was elected Minister of Information of the RNA.

A characterization of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which is attached hereto.

[redacted] during May, 1968, advised MILTON HENRY is an Attorney at Law from the Pontiac, Michigan, area, and is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit, Michigan, area.

[redacted] states that RICHARD HENRY, also known as IMARI, is an employee of the United States Government, who lives in the Detroit, Michigan, area. and is described as a local militant Black Nationalist who, in the past, was President of a rifle club known as the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club, which club was organized and dominated by members of the local RAM group.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, Williams was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, [redacted] advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin."

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that Maxwell Stanford of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where Stanford resides.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1,1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Cincinnati, Ohio
June 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

...RTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	10/3/68	5/21/68- 9/27/68

...E OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	jmh

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

[redacted]

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/18/68, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS
...	...	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

...e has ... Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over ... ☐ Yes ☐ No

...OVED ... SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE ... NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

...ES MADE:

10 - Bureau (105-[illegible]) (RM)
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
1 - Cleveland (Info) (RM)
2 - Louisville (cont'd Cover Page B)

10-46 REC- 65

EX 109

REC- 78

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

	[illegible]	OSI	SS	[illegible]
...st Recd.	JDJU	[illegible]	CKD	
...e Fwd.	10/15/68			
	[illegible]			
	[illegible]			

Notations

CC [illegible]

1 31 1968

CI 100-14158

1 - New York City (Info) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (Info) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati
2 - 100-14158
1 - 157-1682

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

[redacted]

No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies of instant report have been designated for Louisville.

[redacted]

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Baltimore, Cleveland, Mobile and Philadelphia and NYC for information and possible future investigative use.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:	Location:
[redacted]	[redacted]
	CI 100-14158
[redacted]	[redacted]
	CG 100-40342
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNOC activity in the Columbus area.

CI 100-14158

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SFCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 10/8/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: [redacted]05-168187

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Complete leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as furnished by confidential sources, who additionally supplied data re [redacted] headquarters, local meetings, travel and conferences in Chicago and New York City with national SNCC leaders concerning SNCC internal conflict and activities. Recent past to present activities of Cincinnati SNCC set forth including status of [redacted] development of marching groups and firearms interest, and meeting with RAM leader MAXWELL STANFORD as result of speech by RNA leader BETTY SHABAZZ in Cincinnati on 9/8/68.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CI 100-14158

CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On July 26, 1968, [redacted] furnished the complete SNCC membership roster effective as of the Cincinnati SNCC reorganization on July 15, 1968, and as confirmed August 16, 1968.

The chief leaders (first three below) all of whom have an equal voice, are:

LEROY COSTON
Educational Advisor

KENNETH ROBINSON
Military Advisor

GEORGE HUGHES
Program Director

DONALD HARRIS
Security Officer

JUANITA McCOMBS
Secretary

CLAUDIA ANDERSON
Treasurer and fund raising

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE
Field Representative - located in Alabama

Former Chairman

On August 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that TOMMY PORTER, former Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC prior to the above reorganization July 15, 1968, then attending classes at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, was to leave Cincinnati to commence teaching in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 6, 1968. This source stated PORTER was one of the Antioch-Putney Students Interning in Baltimore under the direction of an individual named JOHN HOPKINS and others in the Baltimore School System. The source also stated that PORTER was to complete additional masters work during the late summer of 1969 at Putney, Vermont.

MEMBERSHIP

In addition to the above, the complete Cincinnati SNCC membership as of July 15, 1968, is as follows:

	Name:	Address:	Tele. No.
1.	Noah Cave	[redacted]	[redacted]
2.	Landall Williams	[redacted]	[redacted]
3.	Michael Hardrick	[redacted]	[redacted]
4.	Ted Harris	[redacted]	[redacted]
5.	Junita T. McCombs	[redacted]	[redacted]
6.	Clifford E. Cooper	[redacted]	[redacted]
7.	Roberta Shears	[redacted]	[redacted]
8.	Liz Presley	[redacted]	[redacted]
9.	Jack Gibson	[redacted]	[redacted]
10.	William Milton	[redacted]	[redacted]
11.	Ronnie Smith	[redacted]	[redacted]
12.	Leroy O. Coston	[redacted]	[redacted]
13.	Thomas Cooper	[redacted]	[redacted]
14.	Donald Harris	[redacted]	[redacted]
15.	Larry Myles	[redacted]	[redacted]
16.	Olga Turner	[redacted]	[redacted]
17.	Antone Williams	[redacted]	[redacted]
18.	Elaine Rynon	[redacted]	[redacted]
19.	Kenneth Robinson	[redacted]	[redacted]
20.	George Hughes	[redacted]	[redacted]
21.	Bruce Walton	[redacted]	[redacted]

	Name	Address	Telc. No.
22.	Claudia Anderson	[redacted]	[redacted]
23.	Toney Myles	[redacted]	[redacted]
24.	Maurice Wheeler	[redacted]	[redacted]
25.	Harold Jefferies	[redacted]	[redacted]
26.	McKinley Pace	[redacted]	[redacted]
27.	Lana Mitchell	[redacted]	[redacted]
28.	Taylor Hughes	[redacted]	
29.	Thomas Porter	[redacted]	[redacted]
30.	Tommy Clinton	[redacted]	[redacted]

It should be noted that [redacted] also advised August 12, 1968, that TED HARRIS, CLIFFORD COOPER and THOMAS COOPER, whose names appear on the above roster reside in Covington, Kentucky, and that JACK GIBSON, ANTONE WILLIAMS, TOMMY CLINTON and HAROLD JEFFERIES are Cincinnati high school students recently admitted to Cincinnati SNCC membership and described by this source as "wild".

FINDS

[redacted]

[redacted]

HEADQUARTERS AND MEETINGS

On August 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Cincinnati SNCC headquarters are located on the second floor of the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, and that aside from specific situations the routine organization meetings, effective July 15, 1968, were to be held one month from the date of the last meeting.

RECENT SIGNIFICANT OUT-OF-STATE ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

A characterization of US and BPP appear in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC planned to send SNCC Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON, Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON and the following Cincinnati SNCC members, with the remainder of the fifteen to be subsequently chosen:

TAYLOR HUGHES,

DONALD HARRIS,

TED HARRIS,

CLIFFORD and THOMAS COOPER and MICHAEL HARDRICK to the Chicago, Illinois meeting.

[redacted] advised on August 18- 19, 1968, that by reason of car trouble, only the following Cincinnati SNCC members were able to travel to Chicago, Illinois, for the above meeting on August 16, 1968:

Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON,

Program Director GEORGE HUGHES,

LARRY MILES,

DONALD HARRIS

McKINLEY PACE,

one young male Negro (name unknown), and

TAYLOR HUGHES.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] further advised that the Cincinnati group thereafter returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, during the a.m. of August 25, 1968, where Johnny Jackson thereafter departed for Selma, Alabama [redacted]

RECENT SIGNIFICANT LOCAL ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

[redacted] advised July 27, 1968, concerning the farm to be used for firearms training in Kentucky, the location is still as yet not known, but it is anticipated that as soon as SNCC Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON had "shaped up" the SNCC guards or protective force, he, ROBINSON, intended to utilize the farm.

The source stated ROBINSON, for the previous week, had been conducting marching and drilling exercises in the vicinity of the Rockdale Temple from about 5:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., about every night, and on a few occasions until as late as 10:00 p.m.

The source stated ROBINSON has been drilling about 30 men, some of whom were SNCC members, and some of whom are potential or future SNCC members.

Subsequently on August 11, 1968, [redacted] stated that about three weeks previous a local dance was held by SNCC at the Rockdale Temple to raise money and which was well attended. About 1:00 a.m. as the dance was about over, six Negroes from the Mt. Auburn area began to get a little rough to the point it appeared a fight would start as a result of which SNCC military advisor KENNY ROBINSON, called eight of his marching group, and they went to the trunk of ROBINSON's car where they each obtained a weapon, handguns and rifles, and returned to the dance where they told the Mt. Auburn group the dance was over. The source stated RODINSON's actions were effective, but everyone felt ROBINSON was very foolish in that actions of that type could have brought the Cincinnati Police into the situation quickly.

The source stated ROBINSON's Army does not have a central repository for weapons, but many members of the SNCC Army have their individual guns which they each also keep individually for security reasons, and many of the younger members of the marching group joined it because they believed that sooner or later they would be able to get a weapon as a result of being part of the Army or marching group.

The source stated that ROBINSON, himself, does have several of his own guns, including a magnum, but ROBINSON is so erratic that it is impossible to state that at any given time that he will have a gun in his possession.

The source stated ROBINSON also bought a new motor bike, and has recently been starting new marching groups and linking up recently formed marching groups with his own group at the Rockdale Temple.

The source stated ROBINSON linked up with a new group on the West Side called the "Black Turks" and with a similar type group operating in the Millvale area. In addition, ROBINSON is in the process of forming a new marching group in the Evanston area and has established another marching group in the Madisonville area, and about every other day contacts at least one of the above groups on his motor bike for discussions and drilling practice and on a few occasions there have been sessions of karate instructions.

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

[redacted] advised May 21, 1968, that on May 19, 1968, MILTON HENRY, Vice President of the Republic of New Africa, appeared at a meeting at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, which lasted from approximately 8:00 p.m. to 9:45 p.m., and was attended by about 35 persons between the ages of 20 - 40.

The source stated the meeting was sponsored by SNCC, a collection was taken, whichtotalled about $25, and HENRY was introduced by Cincinnati SNCC member KENNETH ROBINSON.

A characterization of the RNA (Republic of New Africa) is contained in the appendix of this report.

The source stated ROBINSON told the group that Cincinnati SNCC planned to hold weekly meetings on Sunday at the Carmel Church for discussions on Negro culture and tradition, and in connection with those meetings, were planning to have guest speakers from the various Negro movements in

the United States.

ROBINSON stated that SNCC would invite all the speakers to appear, that the cost for same would come from individual donations so he urged as large a donation as possible since the collection would be divided between SNCC and the particular speaker for the occasion.

ROBINSON further stated that the Carmel Church would become the complete and only real "black man's church in Cincinnati where the black man's culture, history and tradition would prevail".

The source stated MILTON HENRY spoke for one hour, which was followed by a thirty minute question session.

The source stated HENRY discussed the separatist movement, which desired the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama to be set aside as a separate nation, to be brought about by guerrilla warfare and intimidation of the white man.

[redacted]

On June 6, 1968, [redacted] advised that commencing that date, Cincinnati SNCC would conduct a "Freedom School" at the Rockdale Temple to instruct in Negro culture and tradition; the first meeting would be devoted to registration, and the school was to be open to anyone, with emphasis on teenagers.

This source advised the same date, that about a week previous there was a meeting at the St. Simons Episcopal Church in Lincoln Heights, Ohio, which was attended by about 15 Negro teenagers from the Wyoming, Princeton and Lincoln Heights High Schools, and Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON, TAYLOR HUGHES, KENNETH ROBINSON and LANA MITCHELL.

The source advised the following Tuesday, the Negro students from Wyoming High School, who had attended the above meeting, presented demands to the Wyoming High School officials to include Negro history and culture in the curriculum.

[redacted]

[redacted] also advised on June 6, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC members LANA MITCHELL, KENNY ROBINSON and WILLIE THOMAS attended the RNA Convention in Chicago, Illinois, during the Memorial Day weekend, 1968 [redacted].

The source stated he understood the above groups departed the Thursday morning prior to the weekend, and attended the convention that evening and Friday, but because the convention leaders began to fight and differ among themselves, the Cincinnati group got disgusted and returned to Cincinnati.

This source also stated WILLIE THOMAS, above, had bought a clerical collar, adopted the title "Reverend" and became a self-ordained minister to follow the current fad of many of the national SNCC members because it seemed to provide better access to church and other groups. When pressed as to church affiliation, they generally just answer "corner Baptists".

[redacted]

This same source advised that on June 8, 9, 1968, an Afro American Weekend was held at Antioch College, which consisted of a concert and fashion show, but the models for same failed to show up. The source stated that TOMMY PORTER, LANA MITCHELL, BRUCE WALTON, TAYLOR HUGHES and GEORGE HUGHES attended as representatives of Cincinnati SNCC.

[redacted]

The source stated that TED HARRIS, from Covington, Kentucky, and KENNY ROBINSON from Cincinnati, Ohio, are

considered the military or firearms training leaders for Cincinnati SNCC.

[redacted] advised on June 26, 1968, that he believed SNCC as an organization had lost much of its appeal to the Negro population in the Dayton, Ohio area subsequent to the newspaper articles which reported STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Former National Chairman of SNCC, had purchased a $70,000 home in Washington, D.C.

On July 27, 1968 [redacted] advised that the "Freedom School", above, which was started by SNCC, with classes open to the public, at the Rockdale Temple on Thursday nights, 7:00 - 9:00 P.M. had become very successful. The source stated classes had been expanded to Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of every week at the Samuel Achs Junior High School, from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 6, 1968, page 38, carried an article titled, "Must Affirm Our Blackness Negroes Told At Umojo Session", which stated that August 5, 1968, was the opening of Umogo (UNITY) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The article stated Umojo Week would continue for the entire week, would end August 11, 1968, and began with a parade up Reading Road which was led by the sponsors and

immediately followed by the "Avondale Drill Team" led by KENNETH ROBINSON, above, as drill instructor.

The article stated this unit was dressed in blue jeans, black sweaters, and some wore berets. The men wore high military boots, and all wore ammunition belts.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Post and Times Star", issue of August 6, 1968, page 8, carried an article titled "Workshops Highlight Umojo Week Activities" which stated the August 7, 1968, session would open at 10:45 a.m. with a workshop on Economics for Black People, headed by LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of local SNCC.

The article additionally listed several panelists for the educational program, including among whom was TOM PORTER, Chairman of SNCC and HAROLD JEFFERIES (above SNCC membership list).

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 8, 1968, page 17, carried an article titled "Racial Pride Stressed for Unity" which stated that LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, and organizer of workshop sessions for Umojo (Unity) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati stated on August 7, 1968, that his message to the black men and women attending the workshop in the Rockdale Temple was "blackness equals knowledge of self, racial pride, self-respect and cooperative effort".

COSTON was quoted as saying, "We've tried to involve ourselves at every level, but we still have no rights.

The only meaningful measure that can be taken by our people in this racist society is to turn our resources back to ourselves."

[redacted] advised August 19, 1968, he had learned that date that PHILIP HUTCHINGS and IRVING DAVIS, both national SNCC leaders in New York City, New York, traveled to the Cleveland, Akron and Dayton, Ohio areas for the purpose of organizing SNCC operations in these cities.

This source stated HUTCHINGS and DAVIS returned to New York City on August 16, 1968, and indicated they had had reasonable organizing success in Ohio.

[redacted] advised on August 21, 1968, he had learned of no information to indicate PHILIP HUTCHINGS or IRVING DAVIS, above, had been to the Dayton, Ohio area around August 14, 1968.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 23, 1968, page 10, carried an article titled "'Black Berets' March to Promote Self-Help; But Police Are Wary", which stated young Negro men and women are forming uniformed marching units in the Greater Cincinnati area which they say may help create community and racial pride.

The article stated the two largest groups are reported in the West End and Avondale and others are said to be forming in Cumminsville, Milvale, Walnut Hills, Lincoln Heights, Madisonville and Fairborn Kentucky and may have a total strength of 200, mostly men between 16 and 25, and a few black sisters.

The article described KENNETH ROBINSON, above, age 24, as a "General" and as a full-time employee of a major industrial firm who had worked his way up from sweeper since he was honorably discharged from the Army four years ago.

The article indicated ROBINSON, when interviewed stated he resented having to account for their groups and uniforms and ceremonial use of machetes - long jungle knives - by honor guards because they were Negro. He felt that white youth groups could have hunting knives and hatchets and the like, as well as uniforms, without having to offer special explanations and undergo police surveillance.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of September 9, 1968, page 14, carried an article titled, "She Compares Black With Patriots of 1776", which stated BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of black militant leader MALCOLM X, Sunday night, (September 8, 1968) compared the "black man's struggle for freedom in America" with the original struggle of the 13 colonies in a speech at the Rockdale Temple, above, Cincinnati, Ohio, under the "auspices of the Republic of New Africa".

The article stated Miss SHABAZZ arrived about 6:30 p.m. and was heavily guarded. Guards additionally were stationed at the entrance of the building, and frisked everyone who came in.

The article stated the speech concerned the establishment of a separate black nation within the U. S. ; that 20 guards escorted Miss SHABAZZ to a car after the speech, and three carloads of guards took her to the airport.

[redacted] advised September 10, 1968, that BETTY SHABAZZ, above, appeared for a speech in Cincinnati as a result of a previous invitation by SNCC member, WILLIE THOMAS, who is also a Recruiter for the RNA.

This source stated that SHABAZZ came to Cincinnati accompanied by RNA leader, RICHARD HENRY, both of whom departed

CI 100-14158

from Cincinnati September 8, 1968.

This source additionally stated that WILLIE THOMAS appeared at the Rockdale Temple accompanied by MAXWELL STANFORD, a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who had arrived in Cincinnati September 7, 1968, and is believed to have departed September 8, 1968.

[redacted]

[redacted] stated he learned that ROBINSON planned to depart Cincinnati during the morning of September 27, 1968, and would be accompanied by DONALD HARRIS, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer and military aide of ROBINSON, and would probably return to Cincinnati during the p.m. of September 28, 1968.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1,1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

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Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

A P P E N D I X

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Aka., Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

A P P E N D I X

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised that HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name Malcolm X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X. LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power and since his assassination February 21, 1965 at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing the name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA which is to be revolutionary in nature is to make efforts for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States

Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, HILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader". WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader".

Characterizations of the KOI, MMI and OAAU are attached hereto.

A P P E N D I X

"US", also known as "US", Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1965, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose . . . based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture".

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled "The Quotable Karenga", authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

". . . US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture. . . . The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos, . . . We Must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically.

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

". . . You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. . . . The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. . . . When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are . . ."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"We . . . must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws "are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. . . . We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man - - let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia - - let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power . . . "

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

(cont'd)

"US", also known as "US", Incorporated

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

". . . The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when anything goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. . ."

"JESUS said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow' Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet - - - washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Madirola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. . . "

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third and highest level of membership is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

[illegible]

In January, 1957, a source advised [illegible] has described his organization on a membership basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1957, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a membership basis, pronounced both words "Mosque" and "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Deity, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent Black nation in the United States. According to Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Holy" Bible there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are lineal descendants of the tribe of Shabazz, banished to the "Wilderness of North America," by the Original Man, Allah, because of their evil deeds; however, they have been and will be delivered from the spiritual "hell of Christians."

On the [illegible] Muhammad, [illegible] the Nation of Islam, have been and are subjected under the provisions of the Subversive Control Act and have declined that membership in the United States.

On May 8, 1957, [illegible] advised that [illegible] the only [illegible] to determine the [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Temple of Islam [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Temple [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Temple [illegible] Muhammad [illegible] Temple

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER, in which he indicated that he had heard the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI) (Continued)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 6, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

P. O. Box 1277
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201
October 2, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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Report Form
FD 263

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office	Office of Origin	Date	Investigative Period
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	4/8/69	1/27/69 - 4/3/69

TITLE OF CASE	Report made by	Typed by
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	pa
	CHARACTER OF CASE RM - SNCC	

Synopsis:

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 1/22/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

NONE

Pending over 1 year No; Pending prosecution over 6 months No.

Approved | Special Agent in Charge | Do not write in spaces below

Copies made:
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(Con'd Cover Page B)

REC 27

APR 14 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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MAY 5 - 1969

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CI 100-14158

2 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
3 - Cincinnati
(2 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

[redacted]R,

[redacted] For Bureau information, on 1/24/69, [redacted] advised he was in the process of obtaining names, from a source he would not disclose, relative to SNCC applications at either Central State or

Wilberforce University. Several names, without additional identifying data or location, were furnished by [redacted] and despite the paucity of information, appropriate cases were opened in anticipation of probable receipt of further more specific data to be thereafter set forth in a subsequent SNCC organization report.

Data re individuals referred to in the details, who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For additional reasons of brevity and to eliminate repetitive reporting, the essential data of Cincinnati LHM, 3/7/69, concerning the East St. Louis conference of 3/1,2/69, was set forth in enclosed report, but the printed program and related data was excluded since same was more pertinent to respective Divisions rather than the overall organization.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source	Location
[redacted]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Springfield, Chicago, Louisville, Mobile, and New York for possible future investigative use.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

COVER PAGE

CI 100-14158

5

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

- D* -

COVER PAGE

-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 4/8/69

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current leaders and members of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as supplied by [redacted] furnished data re headquarters, funds, attendance at conferences in Springfield and East St. Louis, Illinois, and efforts re establishment of Black Panther Party. [redacted] contacts with out-of-state Black Nationalist leaders, local SNCC membership, travel, and meetings data.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I
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CI 100-14158

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] furnished the current leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC. The source stated the membership list was effective as of February 2, 1969, reconfirmed as still correct February 20, 1969, and those names which appeared on previous lists, but do not appear on the present list, were removed from SNCC membership by reason of inactivity and/or non-participation in the activities.

LEADERS - (RESIDENCE CINCINNATI UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE)

Educational Adviser	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer	MC KINLEY PACE 2348 Highland Avenue (No telephone)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising	Vacant
Field Representative	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE (Whereabouts unknown)

NON-LEADERSHIP MEMBERS

NOAH CAVE
1026 Burton Avenue,
No. 791-3799

CI 100-14158

GEORGE EDISON
3030 Gilbert Avenue
No. 221-7560

TAYLOR HUGHES
3458 E. Millvale Circle
No. 681-3306

JOHN DACE
3593 Roll Street,
No. 542-2873

WILBUR CAVE
1026 Burton Avenue,
No. 791-3799

GARRELL WINSTEAD
1482 Dudley Walk
No. 421-6075

MEETINGS - HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] advised the regular meetings of Cincinnati SNCC were changed from the 22nd of each month to weekly Sunday meetings, unless cancelled or rescheduled, to commence at 2:00 PM at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted]

Further information concerning the NOI is located in the appendix attached hereto.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

On March 14, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that two Negro males, names and organization affiliation unknown, but from California, had arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, within the previous two or three days, and were temporarily residing with the Cincinnati Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Secretary, SANDRA CARR, at 2225 Highland Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted]

On March 15, 1969, this source stated he had learned that the two Negroes, names unknown, had been arrested in Columbus, Ohio, about March 4 - 5, 1969, for carrying a concealed weapon, and were members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, but the circumstances of the arrest are unknown.

The source also stated he learned that bond money for the above two, $300 each for a total of $600 was paid, and that both returned immediately to Oakland, California.

[redacted]

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix attached hereto.

PARTICIPATION IN OUT OF STATE CONFERENCES

[redacted] advised he had learned that CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director and leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, January 25, 1969, and requested no more than two leadership representatives of Cincinnati SNCC to attend a highly confidential meeting in Springfield, Illinois, at twelve noon, January 28, 1969, purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.

[redacted]

[redacted]

On January 30, 1969 [redacted] stated he had learned that Leroy Coston, above, and Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, George Hughes, were the two representatives who attended the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

[redacted] stated the meeting took place in the living room of the home of Larry Isaac, Prime Minister of the "Black Egyptians", 1201 South 15th Street, Springfield, Illinois, who within the past two months had moved to Springfield from East St. Louis, Illinois, and resides at the above address with his wife and two small children.

The source stated the meeting started at about three p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about twenty eight persons, all Negroes, including several females, and the entire meeting was conducted by Charles Koen, leader of the "National Black Liberators", St. Louis, Missouri, with the exception of a short period of time when the speaking was done by Koen's assistant, also a "Liberator", name unknown, but described as about 28, 6'2", 225 pounds, medium Afro haircut, clean shaven, neat, with a 3" circular scar on his right cheek.

The source stated some of the invitees were late in appearing, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to Koen, such as Dan Aldridge from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of twenty eight in attendance is approximate.

Koen also stated he had received a telephone call from Edward Crawford, above, who told Koen that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for Crawford to attend the meeting.

[redacted]

The source stated that at the inception of the meeting Koen stated that for obvious reasons there would be absolutely no note taking, and unless some of the attendees were already known to each other, no one would be introduced to anyone else beyond a first name basis.

The source stated he recalled that as far as attendance by groups or organizations the meeting was attended as follows:

(5) "National Black Liberators" from St. Louis, Missouri, including Koen, composed of three men and two women, who were among the last to arrive at the meeting.

(10) "Black Egyptians" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.

(8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(4) "Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois

The source additionally stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name the source stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".

The source stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four or five of the "War Lords", both from East St. Louis, Illinois, departed from the meeting about one hour before the conclusion.

With regard to the meeting proper the source stated Koen set forth the following general purposes and, thereafter, returned to expand on several of the points:

1. To get acquainted with our fellow revolutionaries in different, yet immediately adjacent, territories or areas.

2. Although from different areas, to recognize that it is a common system and a common enemy everywhere.

3. Discuss the divide and conquer policy of the system.

4. Discuss plans to move against the enemy.

5. Discuss bond and court expenses.

6. Roles of the groups and communications.

7. Discuss national meetings of the groups from all areas.

8. Discuss establishment of a central office for their (Midwest) area.

Koen stated one of the main elements of a "revolution" is for the revolutionary to keep his "mouth shut", and each of the attendees had been invited because he is a revolutionary.

In expanding upon the subjects Koen stated that the enemy had recently subjected their groups to extreme harassment and injustice.

Koen stated very recently the offices of the "National Black Liberators" in St. Louis had been raided by police, without cause, on two or three occasions; the doors of the offices of the"Black Egyptians" in East St. Louis had been kicked down by the police; a primarily women's school in East St. Louis had been raided by police who found only two guns and a knife after a thorough search; but most significant was because of the mass shooting which had occurred the previous week in East St. Louis which resulted in the deaths of four Negroes and the injuring of two others who were presently on the critical list.

Koen did not restate the details of the above incident except to the extent it involved six magazine salesmen, two of whom Koen stated were legitimate, and the other four were undercover police officers.

Koen stated that as a result of the above, one "Swede" Jeffreys, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, was unjustly arrested and charged with four counts of murder.

Koen stated Jeffreys was arrested on the basis of an identification by one of the men who had been shot and died, but identified Jeffreys while under the influence of narcotics before death.

Koen stated that the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, led by one "Pops", in attendance at the meeting, and described as about 40-45 years of age, was planning to follow one of two courses of action:

1. To go with a group directly to the jail where Jeffreys is located and kill everyone necessary to free Jeffreys.

2. To commence a planned, but random killing of the enemy one at a time in retaliation.

Koen stated he, Koen, believed careful planning should be done; that the possible loss of several might not be worth more than the rescue of only one, but whatever course of action they, the "War Lords", decided to follow, they had the complete support and encouragement of Koen.

Koen stated that Edward Crawford, above, who was to have attended the meeting, was to have rendered assistance or advice to the "War Lords" in the course of action they decided to follow.

Koen stated the number one weapon of their groups is explosives, and that guns are secondary for use as a last resort.

Koen stated all the groups in East St. Louis have good contacts for explosives in that area, have some available or access to it at the present time, and additionally have a "Black Egyptian" available, who is a former serviceman and a demolition expert, not further identified except located in East St. Louis.

Koen thereafter discussed the establishment of a Central Office for the Midwest area, and stated that although Chicago is also being considered, Springfield is presently the first choice despite the fact there are more transportation problems involved in travel to and from that city.

Koen stated it is tentatively planned that a Midwest Conference of all groups will be held February 8, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois, meeting site not designated, but one of the purposes will be to name or select a Midwest Council of representatives from the various groups.

Koen thereafter discussed generalities and stated he had just returned, no specifics disclosed, from a visit and conference in New York City, New York, with H. Rap Brown, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Partv (BPP).

Koen stated that he thereafter contacted National SNCC leader Philip Hutchings telephonically relative to his California travel and was advised by Hutchings that he, Koen, had violated SNCC policy in meeting with the BPP.

Koen stated that partly, as a result of the above, he was leaving within a few days to attend a conference in Connecticut, and would thereafter return to New York City for further conferences, at the conclusion of which he believed he would return to California and attempt to resolve the differences within the BPP.

Koen thereafter indicated another meeting was to be held at the same address in Springfield in the immediate future with some of the representatives of the various newspapers and publications of the various groups with whom they are associated, and the entire meeting was thereafter concluded.

[redacted]

Concerning the conference in general, [redacted] stated the conference as a whole was conducted by CHARLES KOEN; that approximately 75 persons were present on Saturday, March 1, 1969, from a late inception at about 2:00 PM, until 11:00 PM, and on Sunday, March 2, 1969, there were approximately 50 persons in attendance from noon until the conference terminated at about 8:00 PM.

The source stated most of the attendees were unknown, and the majority were from the Midwest area, Springfield, East St. Louis, Peoria, and five students from Carbondale, Illinois, with the exception of the following, insofar as known or learned by this source:

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - 5

Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, SNCC West Deputy Chairman.

Brother (First Name Unknown) CHOICE.

TONY ORANGE

SANDRA SCOTT

One unknown male

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, AREA - 5

All unknown males, did not identify themselves, and attended the conference on March 1, 1969, only.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 6

This male group was led by EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association (appears in program), and the group referred to themselves as "Mau Maus," indicated they were karate experts, and carried brown, twelve inch long wood clubs in their back pockets.

WASHINGTON, D.C. - 2

One male and one female, both unknown.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 1

One male from Atlanta, Georgia, unknown, engaged in organizing work in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The source stated that the conference did not start until about 2:00 PM on March 1, 1969, and generally followed the printed program but in essence, from 2:00 PM to 3:30 PM, was devoted to a general session; thereafter, was devoted to workshops from 3:30 PM to 5:00 PM, and thereafter moved to the office of KATHERINE DUNHAM, 530 Tenth Street, who source stated was Director of Performing Arts Training Center at 530 Tenth Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, where a discussion of "black culture" was conducted until about 7:00 PM, at which time the conference returned to the workshops until 11:00 PM when the day was concluded.

The source stated the Sunday, March 2, 1969, program was adhered to, including the presentation of a cantata by the organization of KATHERINE DUNHAM, described in the program.

Concerning the conference, the source stated that KOEN never fully clarified to the group why KOEN had referred to the conference as the First National Political Conference, and made no comment concerning any future national conferences, dates or locations.

The source stated the SNCC West Deputy Chairman, Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, and his group from Los Angeles, California, directed some questions to KOEN concerning the purpose of the conference, but received no explanation from KOEN, and indicated they were angry at being misled by KOEN.

KOEN stated each of the groups represented should unite for the common purpose of forming a national liberation group in furtherance of the four year plan previously proposed by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and that each of the groups should return to their respective states and attempt unification with all other local organizations in their areas.

KOEN stated the attempts at unification presently in effect were all part of an original plan devised by the slain Negro leader MALCOLM X LITTLE of Muslim Mosque, and that in the next few weeks a conference and meeting was to be arranged with the widow of MALCOLM X, BETTY SHABAZZ, now a leader of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), to secure her endorsement for the unification.

Further information concerning Muslim Mosque and the RNA is attached hereto.

[redacted]

KOEN stated, however, that the SNCC national leaders still desired no actual present working relations or involvement with the BPP due to the extensive inner conflicts and dissension of that organization. KOEN stated national SNCC is waiting for the BPP to eliminate its own organizational problems, and presently feel the BPP may destroy itself unless changes are made within, and with BPP relations with other groups against whom they are engaged in actual warfare.

KOEN further stated that several national SNCC leaders, including PHIL HUTCHINGS, were to have also attended the conference, but KOEN gave no explanation for their absence.

On March 26, 1969, [redacted] supplied additional data in elaboration of the information previously furnished March 4, 1969, concerning the conference called by the SNCC Midwest Director, CHARLES KOEN, on March 1-2, 1969, in East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that although it was feasible and possible that other similar type meetings might have taken place on February 28, 1969, or March 1,2, 1969, at other locations, he had obtained no information to that effect. The source stated that except for temporary lodgings of the attendees, the conference took place at the Summer College of Commerce, 9th and Ohio Streets, East St. Louis, Illinois, with a "black culture" discussion on March 1, 1969, and a music program on March 2, 1969, presented by KATHERINE DUNHAM at 530 10th Street, also East St. Louis, Illinois

The source stated that excluding the above segments of KATHERINE DUNHAM, the conference was composed of several periods of general sessions, and several workshops, with significant data supposedly covered in the workshops repeated in the general sessions periods for the benefit of all, with some discussions or questions permitted, and immediately preceding the conclusion of the conference on March 2, 1969, there was a period of approximately thirty minutes from 7:30 to 8:00 PM, which was attended by only twelve to fifteen persons, including CHARLES KOEN, above.

The source stated included in the closed group were several Negroes who referred to themselves as "Mau Maus", one of whom suggested it should be made clear to others that if one man commits some foolish illegal act on his own initiative, he should not expect others to come to his aid and support with either money or their weapons, but if the act itself is in furtherance of militant activities, then it should be understood that every man and organization should respond to help in whatever manner possible.

The source stated that EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association, from Chicago, Illinois, during this period stated that branches of the above association should be started in every city, and that either he, CRAWFORD, or one of his organizers, would travel wherever necessary to establish such a group.

The source stated it was also at this time that CHARLES KOEN discussed the plan to unite all Black Nationalist organizations, and that recently two members of the Black Panther Party, names not disclosed, had been appointed to the SNCC Central Committee, although SNCC itself desired no present close working relationship with the BPP due to the considerable conflicts within that group.

The source stated he was aware of no discussions that took place, concerning plans relative to selling "protection" to businesses, to hijack trucks, to commit robberies or muggings, to steal payroll checks, or to steal cars from rental agencies.

The source stated the first speaker at the first general session was CHARLES KOEN who generally discussed revolutionary economics and the necessity for all groups to become acquainted, to open the doors of communication, and to work together for the common purpose.

KOEN was followed by DWIGHT SMITH of "Black Culture, Inc." of East St. Louis, Illinois, who spent considerable time discussing activities in that area, including the recent arrest of one CHARLES JEFFERIES in connection with the shooting deaths of four Negroes; how the local police had been harassing the local organizations, and that, at least to the present, nothing had been done by the local organizations in retaliation or opposition.

EDWARD "RAIS" CRAWFORD thereafter spoke for about four minutes, but stopped abruptly when he indicated he saw someone operating a tape recorder, and stated he, CRAWFORD, simply did not trust everyone attending the conference.

The source stated Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser LEROY BOSTON, thereafter spoke for about five minutes and stated that attempts were being made in Cincinnati, Ohio, to unity and work with all the groups; that one man alone, as an independent, was ineffectual, but the community understands, appreciates, and will support a group they feel is working in their behalf.

The source stated the next general session was March 1, 1969, about nine to ten PM, and was less orderly. The exact speakers were not recalled, but the only references to specific criminal activity was believed made by CHARLES KOEN, who attempted a comparison between capitalism and revolutionary economics.

KOEN stated that if a bank is robbed, and the money is spent to buy an Eldorado Cadillac, that is capitalism, because the system is being supported. If the money is used to purchase weapons, or to buy food for hungry Negro children, that is revolutionary economics.

The source additionally stated he recalled no speeches or discussions by CHARLES KOEN or anyone else concerning the planned hijacking of planes to Cuba, specific travel to Cuba, or negotiations with Cuba for compensation for planes hijacked by "brothers".

The source additionally stated the SNCC organization does own or have available films including, "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger", and "The Battle of Algiers", and additionally he recently learned that National SNCC leader, GWEN PATTON, was in a hospital, believed in Washington, D.C., and for a broken leg, but he could furnish no data regarding her recent visitors.

The source also stated that CHARLES KOEN indicated the conference was originally to have included March 3, 1969, and the meeting was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, to call additional attention by newspaper to a pending court appearance of KOEN and National SNCC leader, PHILIP HUTCHINGS, with regard to their arrest about six months previous at a rally in the East St. Louis area, details unknown.

The source also stated that at a general session on March 2, 1969, about 6:30 to 7:30 PM, one "POPS" JONES, about 40-45 years of age, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, Illinois, spoke for about fifteen minutes in a incohesive manner, which stressed violence and action, but appeared only to make JONES look foolish, create amusement, and cause inattention.

The source indicated JONES made several statements, unrecalled specifically, but to the effect that if one of the organizations intended to conduct a meeting, "Spotters" should be sent out in the neighborhood, and if police are observed, the group should immediately go out into the streets, and kill the police that were observed.

[redacted]

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On January 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC had been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative, through TED HARRIS, Military Adviser, who was acquainted with PAYNE's relatives in Covington, Kentucky.

APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 5
NATION OF ISLAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

On May 9, 1968, a source advised that Mohammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Nation of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Muhammad's Temple No. 5, Mohammad's Temple No. 5, Muhammad's Mosque No. 5, was founded by Asbury X Williams (deceased) during 1946 and continues to follow the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, is an affiliate of the national organization, Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, and adheres to the beliefs and policies of the national organization.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3133 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna)

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

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APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

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11-29-81)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio

April 8, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	6/27/69	3/28/69 - 6/23/69

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	jmh
	CHARACTER OF CASE	
	RM - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 4/8/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUITTALS
SERVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-10-74

REC-3

10 JUL 2 1969

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(cont'd Cover Page B)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Request Recd.	[illegible]			
Date Fwd.		[illegible]		
How Fwd.	[illegible]	[illegible]		
By	[illegible]	[illegible]		

Notations

[illegible] 1969

(Copies Cont'd from Cover Page A)

3 - Cincinnati (2 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

Data re individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For the information of the Bureau, the interviews set forth on FD-302 in instant report relative to Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON and TAYLOR HUGHES were conducted relative to the extortion aspects of the "Black Manifesto" in accordance with Bureau instructions, Cincinnati file 9-2339.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source:	Location:
[redacted]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-8-50)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: 6/27/69

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158

Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CONFIDENTIAL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, membership, headquarters, meetings and funds set forth as furnished by confidential source who also supplied activities information concerning JAMES FORMAN while in Cincinnati, and with another source, described National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan. Interviews of Cincinnati SNCC members set forth with local organizational contacts with Black Nationalist out of state leaders and meetings data.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

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GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] advised the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC was as follows and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director:	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser:	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer:	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark St., Apt. C (No telephone)
Secretary:	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising:	Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [redacted] stated she was in the process of moving her residence to Columbus, Ohio, and will, as a result, be removed in the near future from the Cincinnati SNCC membership rolls.

Source also advised that Cincinnati SNCC no longer has a Cincinnati Field Representative, a position formerly held by WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, now located in New York City in the position of Temporary Office Manager of the New York SNCC Headquarters and additionally, the present total membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members.

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] stated the Headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This source stated Cincinnati SNCC holds weekly Sunday meetings at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled.

CI 100-14158

[redacted]

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On June 13, 1969, and June 23, 1969, [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area to date, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP Chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati.

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix of this report.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted] advised on May 1, 1969, that the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) was held in Detroit, Michigan, from April 25 - 27, 1969. This conference was attended by persons from all over the United States.

MILTON HENRY, head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was the first speaker at the conference on April 26, 1969. He had seven personal bodyguards with him but they did not have any visible firearms. HENRY's main topic was that the RNA was demanding five southern states in the United States to be established as a Black country. He stated the RNA believes the Blacks are entitled to this land as they have worked for the whites and have developed the land. He stated the RNA would attempt to get these five states politically, but if this fails, they will take it with force of arms. He noted that the whites killed to get this land and now the Blacks can kill the whites to get it.

A characterization of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is contained in the appendix of this report.

Detroit, Michigan SNCC leader DAN ALDRIDGE, was the second speaker and he also spoke in favor of the RNA plan as set forth by MILTON HENRY. He stated the RNA will have its own army to defend their country composed of the five southern states they intend to get. He indicated the land will be used as cooperative farms rather than as personally owned farms under the Capitalist system.

After ALDRIDGE's speech, MILTON HENRY and ALDRIDGE held a caucus on the military aspects of the RNA. The caucus concluded that the RNA desired to develop a group of Blacks in each area of the country and train them in self defense and how to use all types of weapons. They are to be trained to the point where they would be willing to fight and die for the RNA. It was concluded at the caucus that the RNA might have to fight to get this land. The persons who attended the caucus were instructed to contact the local heads of the RNA Consulates for additional information and instructions.

At the same time the RNA was having its caucus, SNCC was having a caucus with National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN leading it. It was announced that a Black Manifesto had been prepared by SNCC and the caucus was to plan the strategy to get it passed in the General Assembly.

JULIAN BOND was the third speaker of the day and he spoke on what the South was doing in trying to get land for the Blacks. He stated all of their efforts were non-violent. He talked about his problems in getting elected to the State Legislature and the problems he had in getting seated. The tenor of his speech was to gain more rights for the Blacks under the law.

JAMES FORMAN started speaking at 6:30 p.m. and he pushed for the adoption of the Black Manifesto, which, in essence, demanded the sum of 500 million dollars from white religious institutions as reparations for the Black people for the wrongs to them committed by the white people.

The RNA group opposed the adoption of the Black Manifesto and fought SNCC all through the meeting. The SNCC led forces had the most support and the Manifesto was adopted by the General Assembly at this time.

The conference schedule was not followed as a big fight over the Black Manifesto broke out. The people split into general caucuses in the auditorium to discuss whether the Manifesto should be adopted or not. The RNA led the fight against the adoption of the Manifesto.

Most of FORMAN's SNCC members were not at the conference on April 27, 1969. They apparently thought the adoption of the Manifesto had been completed so they had remained in their motel. FORMAN called them all back to the conference.

The General Assembly was called back at 1:00 p.m. and the Midwest District offered a proposal to delete the sections of the Manifesto about forcibly entering the churches and seizing property.

FORMAN's SNCC group defeated this motion.

The Southern and Western Districts also opposed the Manifesto but FORMAN's group defeated all the opposition. The Southern District noted that the provisions of the Manifesto had already been violated as the group had not forced their way into any churches on April 27, 1969.

The fight over the Manifesto raged on. A motion was made from the floor to adjourn the meeting when FORMAN jumped up to the stage and was heard to say that the Manifesto could not be changed as it was already approved. The rest of the conference was one big argument and the conference broke without any further action being taken.

[redacted]

This same source advised that UBCO is an "umbrella" organization which covers the activities of all Black organizations in Cincinnati. Its purpose is to promote operational unity between Afro-American organizations and to eliminate all forms of oppression and racism from the community.

CONCERNING THE NBEDC

[redacted] on April 29, 1969 and April 30, 1969, supplied substantially the same information as [redacted] above, and additionally furnished the following general data.

[redacted] stated he had learned several of the persons who attended the conference from Cincinnati, Ohio, area were Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES and his brother, SNCC member TAYLOR HUGHES, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, MARVIN GENTRY, Director of Orientation of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) (Poverty Program) and another CEP employee, KEITH EDMONDSON, all of whom drove to the conference in the 1967 black Oldsmobile of GEORGE HUGHES, with the exception of PACE, who drove his own 1966 Chevrolet sedan.

The source stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, traveled to and returned from the conference by plane, accompanied by HIRAM CRAWFORD, also a Director of CEP in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, and additionally the source stated BOB GENTRY and WILLIAM "BABE" WEST, representatives of UBCO, above, were present at the conference, but their manner of travel is unknown.

[redacted] stated the conference generally adhered to the agenda for same; that there were approximately 700 persons present on April 26, 1969, but because of the dissension and friction created between the leaders of the RNA and SNCC, above, the conference attendance on April 27, 1969, dropped to about 250, and the conference concluded about 2:30 PM on that date.

[redacted] also stated that some criticism was directed at National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, for not making certain that representatives from all of the Black Nationalist organizations in the United States had been contacted and invited to the conference, such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) and source opined there were no BPP speakers at the conference.

The source stated National SNCC leader PHIL HUTCHINGS did indicate there were several BPP members from Detroit, Michigan, in attendance, but they were not referred to by name.

On May 1, 1969, [redacted] further stated that a second conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, from approximately 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., in McGregor Hall at Wayne State University, which was attended by approximately 75 persons and conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and three others, unknown from Detroit, Michigan, relative to the Black Revolutionary Labor Union Movement, and in a panel-type manner.

[redacted] stated the purpose of the meeting was of a general or informational type to advise those present of the preliminary efforts already being made to establish Black labor unions throughout the United States.

The source stated FORMAN indicated literature would be sent out, and contacts will be made in all of the major cities relative to this program, and additionally, organizers who are receiving instructions or training, place and identities unknown, will, in the near future travel to the various cities and establish contact for implementation of the program.

FORMAN indicated that no specific activity was to be initiated at this time by those in attendance at the conference, but they should await further instructions and/or direct contact from one of the organizers or leaders of the program.

FORMAN stated it is the intention to commence the union activity in all of the major industries in every community, and indicated that two, one-day "wildcat strikes" had already successfully been staged recently by Negro employees at the Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit, Michigan.

The source stated he had also learned that the names of Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES and Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, were submitted as the persons for future contact in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area relative to the "black union" program.

On May 1, 1969, [redacted] additionally stated he had learned a third conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, in the nature of a SNCC Staff meeting, from about 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., which was attended by approximately 30 persons in room 404 of the hotel, name unknown, but located across the street from Wayne State University Auditorium, which was again conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN.

The source stated some of those in attendance were unknown, but among those present from the National SNCC New York Office were PHIL HUTCHINGS, IRVING DAVIS, FRED MEELY, JIMMY LYTLE, FRANCIS BEAL, and WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, who was then the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative.

Also present were SNCC leaders DAN ALDRIDGE from Detroit, Michigan; "Brother" CROOK, TONY ORANGE, and SANDRA SCOTT from Los Angeles and "Brother" SCROOGE from New Orleans, Louisiana.

The source stated FORMAN indicated the general purpose of the meeting was to encourage the local SNCC organizations to implement and pursue the promulgation of the "Black Manifesto" at every opportunity.

FORMAN instructed everyone present to initiate and maintain frequent contact with the National SNCC Headquarters in New York City, and stated that the strength of the SNCC organization was again on the increase.

FORMAN added that the following SNCC leaders who had voluntarily left the SNCC organization because of policy conflicts, or who had been expelled had returned and were presently working for SNCC in New York City:

COURTLAND COX, MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZ

CHARLIE COBBS,

IVANHOE DONALDSON, and further that

WILLIE RICKS,

CLEVELAND SELLERS and

RALPH FEATHERSTONE were again working for SNCC, but in other parts of the United States, not specifically indicated.

[redacted]

[redacted]

On June 12, 1969 [redacted] stated JAMES FORMAN arrived at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 10:15 a.m., June 11, 1969, where he was met by local militants, MARVIN GENTRY, spokesman for the local Black Manifesto group, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, and a "Security Guard" of four persons led by a local Republic of New Africa (RNA) member, KENNETH ROBINSON.

[redacted] stated the above individuals went directly to the Rockdale Temple, above, center of Black Nationalist activities, in the Cincinnati area, where Forman held a press conference at 11:00 AM.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," issue of June 12, 1969, page 62, carried an article titled, "Forman Reveals Hike In Demands On Church," which stated as follows:

"Most white church groups have agreed that they should give financial help to poor blacks for reparation payments, but none has agreed to give it to the National Black Economic Development Conference, James Forman, director, said here Wednesday.

"'The legitimacy of the program demands is no longer in question, it's a question of how to respond,' Forman said.

"Forman headed the conference which drafted the Black Manifesto about a month ago demanding $500 million from white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. He said the demands have now been raised to $3 billion.

"The new demands include larger contributions to black schools and churches that are affiliated with white groups. He said they are demanding $700 million from the American Baptist Association and $800 million from the Methodist Church.

"'Throughout the country most Christians have accepted the new thrust generated by the program demands of the manifesto, but they have not produced funds or services to demonstrate that they are willing to fight their racism,' Forman said.

"'The churches must begin from this day forward to negotiate directly with the NBEDC.' Any attempt to make funds available in response to the demands through any other group is a violation of the demands, he said.

"Forman said the church no longer is just a religious body, but a major financial institution.

"'The Church makes large investments and these investments make money at the expense of the labors of black people. Even white church members realize that they have been tricked by the churches.

"'The church has to be dealt with as a financial institution because that's where it derives a great deal of its revenue,' he said.

"He said any attempts by white church leaders to destroy the work of NBEDC by accusing its members of extortion and conspiracy will force the group to escalate its attack on the church.

"He declined to comment on what tactics will be used to force the churches to respond to the demands, but mentioned striking against church headquarters as one method.

"Forman spoke at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Aves., Avondale, Wednesday night. He said he planned to confer with local members of NBEDC about future strategy."

The source stated that from about 1:00 to 3:30 PM, Forman discussed the Black Manifesto at the Rockdale Temple with about 50 persons in an informal manner relative to the history and necessity for the Black Manifesto.

The source stated Forman thereafter joined a group of about 12 persons, including Marvin Gentry, at the Smorgasborg Restaurant, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, and then returned to the Rockdale Temple for a scheduled dinner from about 5:00 to 7:00 PM attended by about 120 persons, the majority of which were Negro civic, business, professional and religious leaders. Forman at that time referred to the need to establish a black "skills bank," which Forman described as one professional or technician such as a photographer, merely teaching several of his or her friends in his or her particular skill without the schedules or expenses associated with training institutions, and Forman indicated he desired such a program to be instituted on a nationwide basis by the black man.

The source stated that from about 8:45 to 10:45 PM, Forman spoke to an audience of about 500 persons at the Rockdale Temple concerning the basic ideas of the Black Manifesto to the effect that religious institutions today are corrupt and basically money making organizations on whom the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto were logically and reasonably made.

[redacted] stated a short informal period subsequently took place with about 20 persons, in the form of questions and answers and the signing of autographs, until about 1:30 AM at which time Forman went to the residence of Marvin Gentry, 849 East Mitchell Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Forman subsequently returned to the Rockdale Temple from about 8:00 PM to 1:30 AM where he held a meeting or class with about 22 local militants, the majority of whom had had some experience in contacting churches in the Cincinnati area for the purposes of reading or presenting the Black Manifesto to the congregations.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, also learned that included among the above group was Mel Jackson, the spokesman or leader of the Black Manifesto group in the Dayton, Ohio area, and John Taylor, an RNA leader also from that area.

[redacted] stated Forman advised the group that he was instituting a policy change with regard to the Black Manifesto, and was acting upon a suggestion offered by John Taylor, above, to the effect that they will no longer physically disrupt religious services since the congregations actually have little to do with the operation or finances of the church, and will instead attempt to influence the leaders of the various church groups through meetings and conferences.

This source also stated Forman indicated the RNA had expressed considerable opposition to the entire concept and operation of the Black Manifesto, and that Forman stated he desired to make some sort of peaceful settlement with the RNA.

[redacted] additionally stated that Forman indicated peaceful sit-ins at the various religious headquarters may also be utilized to implement the new approach, and further that it was Forman's intentions to have several of the church headquarters issue statements against the U. S. Government and FBI conducting an investigation concerning the Black Manifesto from the standpoint of extortion.

[redacted] also told those present that they were under no obligation to discuss any of their activities at any time if approached for interview by the FBI.

[redacted] further advised he learned James Forman was to depart from Cincinnati at 11:20 AM, June 13, 1969, via American Airlines Flight 240, to arrive in New York City at 12:50 PM.

CI 100-14158

INTERVIEWS OF CINCINNATI SNCC MEMBERSHIP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 6/16/69

LEROY COSTEN, 2700 Gilbert Avenue, was interviewed with the following results:

After being advised as to the identity of the interviewing Agents, COSTEN stated that he did not want to discuss any matter with the FBI and ordered the interviewing Agents to leave the premises.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio File # CI 100-14158

by SAS [redacted] and [redacted]/bhs Date dictated 6/11/69

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16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date June 20, 1969

1

On June 10, 1969, an attempt was made by SAs of the FBI, [redacted] and [redacted] to locate TAYLOR HUGHES for interview at 3468 Millvale Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, without success; however, on June 11, 1969, TAYLOR HUGHES telephonically contacted the Cincinnati Office of the FBI, and advised SA [redacted] he would say nothing to the FBI concerning his activities and would not be interviewed.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio File: CI 100-14158

by SA [redacted] jms Date dictated 6/16/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

CI 100-14158

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

A P P E N D I X

CI 100-14158

NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messenger of Allah" in that he claims Allah (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "devils" in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negro, will be destroyed by Allah in an approaching "War of Armageddon," a war between God and the devil.

Officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating that they respect laws of the United States as long as they do not conflict with the laws of the NOI, but do not believe the government should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, Muhammad, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the goverment to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. Muhammad believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

23 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
June 27, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-14158

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FD-[illegible] (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	ATLANTA	10/9/69	6/3/69 - 9/30/69

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: dms

CHARACTER OF C[redacted]

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 6/27/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

10/22/69
CC to WFO for info re "Blk Ex. Group Recruiting Ex. Black Panther Party Members"
See pages 15-18 re activities of Garrett Murphies

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED CC 801

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE: CC-806

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(Copies cont'd COVER PAGE B)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

~~100-439190-10-87~~ REC-41

100-439190-10-82

OCT 13 1969

EX-106 REC 55

EX-106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY:	Crim RAO ATT:	FRS (att: Paul Wright) ISD, RAO ATT:	IDIU
Request Recd.		ACSI, SEC SER, 10 ST		
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	10/21/69		
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:	R/S		
By	BY:	[illegible]		

Notations

RACIAL INVL SECTN

70 NOV 17 1969

289

COVER PAGE

CI 100-14158

COPIES - CONTINUED:

1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
4 - Cincinnati (3 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682-BNM)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

CI 100-14158

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source	Location
[redacted]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1-Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2-Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-69)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: October 9, 1969

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, headquarters, meetings, funds, and including arrest and acquittal of SNCC member, GARRELL WINSTEAD, for bank robbery set forth [redacted] Further information to be noted regarding participation in out of state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, currently named the Student National Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On September 17 and 22, 1969, [redacted] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director:	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser:	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer:	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark Street, Apartment #C (No telephone)
Secretary:	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 281-3124
Treasurer and Fund Raising:	Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [redacted] stated that CARR, who recently was making preparations to move her residence to Columbus, Ohio, cancelled her plans because of some complications with regard to living facilities and presently intends to remain at her residence above.

[redacted]

FBI OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On September 22, 1969, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, telephone number 861-1988.

[redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, and participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC leader, JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

[redacted]

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On September 16 and 22, 1969 [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the BPP is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on August 30, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC member, GARRELL THOMAS WINSTEAD, was arrested

by SAs of the FBI for robbery of the Linn Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, Branch of the Provident Bank of $2,087.00 on March 22, 1968, when disguised as a woman in wig, blouse, stretch pants, and lipstick.

WINSTEAD was arrested at his place of employment, General Electric Company, Blue Ash, Ohio, trial was commenced September 15, 1969, however, on September 25, 1969, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] stated that the SNCC staff meeting actually commenced about 11:00 AM, June 16, 1969, at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City with about 42 SNCC leaders present including the above persons and the following additional individuals:

Brother Crook and Sandra Scott	- Los Angeles
Dan Aldridge	- Accompanied by three others, unknown, Detroit, Michigan
Muhammed Kenyatta and 2 others, unknown	- Brooklyn, New York
Sam Petty	- formerly leader of the Black Liberators in St. Louis, Missouri; now traveling with the National SNCC Leader James Forman in the capacity of bodyguard

[redacted] stated the staff meeting was instituted by Phil Hutchings who spoke generally on those individuals present who would be eligible to vote on the matters subsequently to be decided, which was followed by area reports which consisted of nothing but generalized information which strongly indicated none of the areas had accomplished or were involved in anything of significance.

[redacted] stated a financial report thereafter followed which was handled by New York leaders Irving Davis and Jimmy Lytle who stated that National SNCC was in effect bankrupt and $10,000 in debt. They stated additionally that money that was to have been obtained from the sale of James Forman's book, "Sammy Young, Jr.", was to have been included

in the National SNCC Treasury but only two SNCC chapters, one of which was Cincinnati which sent $52.00, and the other chapter unknown, with the result the $3,000 which was to have collected for the book was not received by National SNCC increasing the total debt to approximately $13,000. The source stated the group from Texas, about 11, led by Ernest McMillan, who did not appear to be in accord with the dissatisfaction of the Texas group expressed their opinion that National SNCC should provide a salary or pay expenses to active groups such as those in Texas, but they received the response that even in the National SNCC office, the leaders were required to meet their own expenses and it did not seem that the suggestion by the Texas group was at all possible to adopt. The source stated that Irving Davis thereafter talked for about 30 minutes concerning SNCC International Affairs and indicated that he had tentative plans for about 15 foreign trips for the present summer to be made by persons to be selected from different areas throughout the United States. Davis did not specify the particular countries with the exception of Algeria but did indicate the trips were tentative and for the purpose of observing activities in the various revolutionary countries.

Davis further stated that Muhammed Kenyatta, above, of Brooklyn, New York, had just returned from a trip to Cuba but Davis did not refer to the dates, purposes, or results of the travel.

[redacted] stated that about 1:00 PM on June 16, 1969 most of the group present were surprised by the above Texas group of 11 plus four including William Herman Payne, H. Rap Brown, "Duke", and another individual believed from the Selma, Alabama area called "Theopolis", described as age 23, 5 feet 7, [illegible] pounds, dark complexion, small Afro haircut with goatee, all of whom stated that as of that time they were, by force if necessary, taking over control of SNCC and intended to change the name to the "Black Revolutionary Action Party" to be led by H. Rap Brown as acting chairman.

[redacted] advised the group stated they were doing so because SNCC has not been doing anything of significance and had had no major program since 1966. Source stated James Forman appeared at the meeting at approximately 4:30 PM at which time he learned of the stated plans of the new group and openly stated that because of same he would resign from SNCC. Source stated it appeared Forman was completely surprised by the event and the actions of the Texas group who additionally stated they desired to return the National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia. The Texas group also expressed dissatisfaction with everything concerning the Black Manifesto and indicated that the SNCC central committee had not even been consulted prior to Forman's launching the Black Manifesto, in Detroit, Michigan during April, 1969 and further that the Texas group had only learned of the Black Manifesto through the subsequent newspaper publicity relative to same.

[redacted] stated that on Tuesday, June 17, 1969, the meeting commenced about 10:30 AM and there were some efforts made to create a program for the new organization including an organizer's school to be instituted in Atlanta, Georgia for the generalized purpose of "organizing people around their needs: but to include stronger revolutionary ideas without further details.

[redacted] stated a temporary central committee was established with H. Rap Brown as chairman and the meeting was thereafter adjourned, which when re-convened, disbanded the newly appointed central committee because H. Rap Brown stated he was disgusted with everything that had happened and was leaving the meeting.

[redacted] stated a motion was thereafter made and adopted that SNCC would continue to operate for another month with a SNCC staff meeting tentatively to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made whether to abolish SNCC as an organization or to re-organize totally as the above new organization, Black Revolutionary Action Party.

[redacted] stated the SNCC staff meeting was concluded about 6:00 PM, Tuesday, June 17, 1969. The source stated at about noon on June 18, 1969 most of the group who had been in attendance at the annual meeting returned to 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, but nothing of significance thereafter occurred on that day.

[redacted] stated that on Thursday, June 19, 1969, about 9:00 AM, about seven persons led by New York SNCC leader Fred Meely temporarily took control of a group of church offices believed to be Methodist, at 287 Park Avenue, New York City, which was supposedly run by a religious leader or leaders who had expressed public opposition to the ideas of the Black Manifesto. The source stated he had learned there was no violence or trouble associated with the incident, that the SNCC group themselves left the Methodist offices about 3:00 PM, and those who had originally occupied the space regained control of same.

[redacted]

[redacted]

On August 26 and 27, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that LEROY COSTON and GEORGE HUGHES did depart Cincinnati, Ohio, on Augsut 20, 1969, and went to Paschal's Hotel for the conference, but during their stay in Atlanta resided at the residence of A. B. SPELLMAN, above, 942 Fair Street. The source stated the conference for which COSTON and HUGHES had been summoned to Atlanta was held at Paschal's Hotel in Room 417, and lasted from 8:00 p.m., August 20, 1969, until about 4:00 p.m., August 23, 1969. The source stated the conference was attended by approximately 25 persons and was conducted by one JIMMY GARRETT, from Washington, D. C., who was described as having recently returned

from the African country of Ghana; a loyal follower of the former national SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael, who is also presently in the country of Ghana.

[redacted] stated many of the persons present at the meeting or conference were unknown and left and reappeared several times, but it is believed those who were unknown were attendees at the Afro American Educators Conference, also then in progress at Paschal's Hotel. The source stated that the following persons, all of whom were present and/or former SNCC leaders and supporters of Stokely Carmichael, were in attendance at the meeting:

Cleveland Sellers
Willie Ricks
Stanley Wise
Ralph Featherstone
Howard Fuller
Robert Brown
Ivanhoe Donaldson
William Herman Payne
Bob Smith
Donald Stone
Leroy Coston
George Hughes.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[redacted] stated some of the above individuals, as followers of Stokely Carmichael, additionally associated themselves with the BPP as did Carmichael, such as Robert Brown, above, a Chicago leader of the BPP, but they may not now be associated with that organization.

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that several of the group in attendance at the meeting had sometime previously originated and succeeded in the idea of the creation of a Malcolm X University, which it was learned was to be opened for business on October 20, 1969, at Durham, North Carolina, but the details concerning the establishment of same were not provided or learned. It was indicated, however, that an underlying purpose of the above school was to develop a cadre of young militants and be a training school for revolutionary purposes.

Further information concerning Malcolm X is located in the characterizations of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. (OAAU) and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), which are contained in the Appendix hereto.

[redacted] learned that the above group had given no indications of meeting again in the future, and the group itself was given no name as an organization, but it was suggested that Cleveland Sellers may recontact various persons who were present and in attendance, unnamed, in the future, but the purpose of such a contact was not indicated. The source also stated that both Coston and Hughes felt that the idea for the above meeting or conference must have originated with Stokely Carmichael, but that the objectives appeared somewhat ridiculous since there appeared to be little planning, coordination, or details actually provided to those who it appeared had been summoned to carry them out.

[redacted]

It should be further noted that on September 29 and 30, 1969, [redacted] stated that Cincinnati SNCC, in contact with IRVING DAVIS, above, in New York City on September 26, 1969, learned that in addition to the Cincinnati leaders, almost all of the SNCC leaders around the country had contacted National SNCC in New York City to advise they would not attend the meetings in New York City on September 25 and 26, 1969, and would hold their travel in abeyance until the National SNCC Staff Meeting, to be held about October 4, 1969, also in New York City.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On June 3, 1969 [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON's father, who lives in the Madisonville area of Cincinnati, has terminal cancer with about six to 12 months or less life expectancy, and COSTON has been spending considerable time with his father for that reason and additionally, because COSTON and his wife are having considerable domestic difficulties.

[redacted]

On June 13, 1969, and July 25, 1969 [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON had done nothing in furtherance of organizing or establishing a BPP Chapter in the City of Cincinnati.

On June 25 and 30, 1969 [redacted] stated SNCC officers, MC KINLEY PACE and GEORGE HUGHES, were on the Steering Committee of the local "Black Manifesto" group.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SR

CI 100-141[illegible]

1 ORGANIZATION OF [illegible] UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm [illegible] founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI) [illegible] announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil [illegible] action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting [illegible] that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "Inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name is Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Dr. Betty Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the [illegible] advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 231 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Dr. Betty Collins.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-14158

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

D 263 (... 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	NEW YORK	1/14/70	10/1/69 - 1/12/70

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	par
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/9/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
INVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☒ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☒ NO

APPROVED: Return copy of report with the original per field

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

10-92 REC-19

2 JAN 1970

EX-117

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1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
(Copies continued Cover Page B)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY:	RAO ATT:	ISD, RAO ATT:	IDIU, ST DOC,
Request Recd.		ACSI, SEC SER, OSI		
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	1/26/70		IAS - ATD: Paul C. Wright
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:			
By	58 MAR 9 1970			CC-864

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1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
4 - Cincinnati
(3 - 100-14158)
(1 - 157-1682) (BNM)

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

[redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

COVER PAGE

Form 1 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 1/14/70

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current data regarding Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members, headquarters, meetings, and funds set forth as furnished by [redacted] Further information to be noted regarding participation in out-of-state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups in New York, Tennessee, and Georgia.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly named the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

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CI 100-14158

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On January 7, 1970, [redacted] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Advisor	LEROY COSTON 5345 Tompkins Avenue Building A Apartment 9; No telephone
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood Avenue Apartment 17 Telephone 221-3766 (unlisted)
Military Advisor	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky Telephone 431-5111
Security Officer	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark Street Apartment C Telephone 241-6569 (unlisted)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR In process of moving locally from 2225 Highland Avenue to new residence address, not yet definite
Treasurer and Fund Raising	[redacted]

[redacted]

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On January 7, 1970, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets.

[redacted] stated that service on the SNCC telephone 861-1988 was discontinued about October 15, 1969, and that all organization telephone calls are made from and to the residence telephones of the SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 PM, unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC Leader JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

[redacted]

FUTURE MEMBERSHIP DATA

With reference to the present status of the Cincinnati SNCC organization as a whole, [redacted] stated that the leadership has indicated intentions of contacting all of the individuals personally in the near future who are considered official SNCC members as of the last general membership meeting about June 1, 1969.

[redacted] opined the leadership would probably encounter some problems in contacting some of the membership by reason of local residence moves, change of telephone numbers, change of employment and/or work shifts, or temporary absences from activities and the Cincinnati area, due to recent enrollment or attendance at college.

[redacted] stated that subsequent to personal contact of the members, the leadership contemplates a complete revision of the membership lists, by deletion where necessary, and thereafter sufficient recruitment to make a total of fifteen members.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On November 4, 1969, December 18, 1969, and January 12, 1970, [redacted] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSION, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on July 14, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, above, was arrested for disorderly conduct, on the parking lot of the Rockdale Temple, above, by an officer of the Cincinnati Police Department [redacted]

On January 12, 1970, [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that PACE received four continuances relative to trial; however, on November 5, 1969, PACE was found guilty and fined $5.00 for costs of court by Judge RUPERT DOAN.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS, AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

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EXHIBIT X

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

EXHIBIT X

100-14158

APPENDIX

1 ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicate that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CINCINNATI	NEW YORK	6/4/70	1/15/70 - 5/28/70

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	par
	CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC	

REFERENCES:

Reports of SA [redacted] dated 10/9/69 and 1/14/70, at Cincinnati

- p -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of the Bureau, there has been no operating SNCC organization effective as such in the Cincinnati area since about 6/1/69. For the purpose of brevity and clarity, only the summary of significant data from the LHM's submitted re the participation in SNCC National activities by individuals has been set forth in this report,

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None						ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: [illegible] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

10-116 REC 54

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14 JUN 8 1970

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since it is believed more complete details should be more appropriately reported in the overall activities of National SNCC organization.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[redacted]

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [redacted] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

It should be further noted that [redacted] has opined that it is unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize in the near future. The source stated that any Cincinnati SNCC activities will probably be based on individual contacts from National SNCC leaders for the purpose of accomplishing specific tasks or assignments as opposed to a group or organization participation.

[redacted]

CI 100-14158

Due to the lack of involvement of other local militants, and the frequent and extended periods [redacted] furnished data, no local dissemination has been made for further reasons of security.

INFORMANTS:

Identiti of Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Cincinnati
Date: 6/4/70

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158 Bureau File No.: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: Current data reflects Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members inactive as operating group except for members contacted individually by National leaders. [redacted] furnished data regarding participation by individual local SNCC members in out-of-state conferences, and SNCC activities in New York, Georgia, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. Results of interview of SNCC Secretary set forth with data re recent arrest of local Security Officer.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

STATUS OF LOCAL SNCC ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

On May 21, and 22, 1970 [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis since about June 1, 1969, due largely to an apathy created by the dissension, frequent leadership changes, and lack of coordination among the National SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated that at the present time it appears unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize as an effective active group unless a strong leader capable of unifying and stimulating the various chapters should appear, including Cincinnati.

[redacted] stated there is still some interest in the Cincinnati area in the SNCC organization, but for the past year, Cincinnati SNCC activities have been limited to participation in National SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact from National SNCC leaders.

[redacted] stated the Cincinnati SNCC leadership about March, 1970, anticipated an intention to call for a general membership meeting in accordance with National SNCC instructions, but subsequently postponed, and then discontinued the suggestion.

[redacted] stated the following individuals are still considered the leadership of Cincinnati SNCC; however, most are to all intents and purposes inactive or dormant except as hereinafter indicated:

Educational Advisor	LEROY COSTON 5345 Tompkins Avenue Building A Apartment 3; No telephone
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood Avenue Apartment 17 Telephone 221-3768 (unlisted)

Military Advisor	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky Telephone 431-5111
Security Officer	MR KINLEY PACE (See below) 862 Clark Street Apartment C Telephone 241-[redacted]89 (unlisted)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR - See interview below

HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On May 21, 1970, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC are still available in the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, but have not been used for meeting purposes as indicated above

[redacted]

LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW

Secretary — SANDRA LEE CARR

On February 12, 1970, SANDRA LEE CARR was interviewed at her residence, 5087 Kingsley Drive, Apartment B, Cincinnati, Ohio, at which time CARR stated, in essence, that she first became involved in racial activities in Cincinnati because she had a sincere feeling that she wanted to do something to help the situation of Negro people in Cincinnati.

She said that she joined the Cincinnati SNCC organization because she felt there was an opportunity to do something constructive for the Black people in Cincinnati. She stated that she had been secretary of the Cincinnati SNCC Organization, however, since May of 1969, she has not participated in any SNCC activities or any other racial activities. She said that the reason for

this, is that she has felt that the programs of the various local racial organizations have not fulfilled any of the needs of the community and to this date there has been no constructive programs implemented. She said that she had been contacted by GEORGE HUGHES, the SNCC Program Director, who asked her to become active again; however, she refused.

CARR stated that she is in no way a militant and does not have any animosity toward white people. She says that she accepts any individual on his face value.

CARR emphasized that she is against the use of violence as a means of getting anything for Black people. She believes that black and white people can learn to live together. She said that a great deal of progress has been made in the past few years. She feels that education is the key to the problems. Black people must concentrate on education which will result in an economic change for the Black people.

CARR said that the various black organizations should concentrate on helping the black communities to help themselves. She said voter education is also important and believes that blacks should really learn about all the candidates before casting their ballot.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On March 16, 1970, [redacted] advised that a group of about 25 persons, all black and mostly juvenile, congregated at the corner of Rockdale and Reading Roads, Cincinnati, shortly after noon on that date. These individuals were at a statue of Abraham Lincoln and flag pole located on the corner of the intersection near Samuel Ach Junior High School. They carried signs which accused Lincoln of being the "first white capitalist to suck black peoples blood" and signs calling for power to "all black people" and "all oppressed people." One sign said, "Off Pigs" and one indicated in "memory of William Herman Payne."

During the demonstration, red paint was poured on the Lincoln statue and an American flag was removed from the flag pole in the vicinity of the statue.

The Cincinnati Police Department responded to the scene and arrested two adults, one of whom was MC KINLEY PACE, and four juveniles. During the arrests, Sergeant JAMES DALEY, Lieutenant CARL LEIGHT, and Patrolman DAVE D'ERMINIS received minor injuries. They were subsequently treated at Cincinnati General Hospital for cuts and scratches and released to duty.

PACE was charged with Assault on a Policeman, Malicious Destruction of Property, Disorderly Conduct, and Resisting Arrest.

[redacted] advised that once the arrests were accomplished, no further violence occurred. He stated that MC KINLEY PACE, who started the incident, is not liked in the ghetto area and the general feeling in the ghetto is that PACE started this demonstration on his own. Bystanders took no side either for or against PACE or either for or against the officers making the arrests.

On May 25, 1970 [redacted] advised that PACE had received a continuance on March 17, 1970, and was scheduled for trial by jury May 26, 1970.

RECENT PAST TO PRESENT PARTICIPATION BY
CINCINNATI SNCC IN CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] learned there was to be a memorial service Sunday night, March 15, 1970, at the Macedonia Baptist Church in Covington, Kentucky from 9:00 to 10:00 PM [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Concerning the memorial service itself, [redacted] stated the speakers included JAMES FORMAN, TOMMY PORTER, JOHN PAYNE, and MARVIN GENTRY, the latter of whom read the larger of the two above leaflets to those in attendance, and the smaller of the above two leaflets was distributed.

[redacted] stated the only other additional militant to arrive for the above service was Nashville, Tennessee, militant, MICKEY BOOTH, who returned to Nashville on Tuesday, March 17, 1970.

[redacted]

[redacted]

On April 13, 1970 [redacted] advised he had learned Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES had traveled to New York City on April 11, 1970, to attend a National SNCC "Secretariat" Conference at the residence of SNCC "Secretariat" Chairman FRAN BEALS, Queens, New York.

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Cincinnati, Ohio
June 4, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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